5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

If he cannot do so, the things are still presented; for, in the case of a marriage, the relations on both sides are anxious to do all that they can to give the young people a good start in life. When all is ready, the girl goes to the lodge where her husband lives, and goes in. If this lodge is too crowded to receive the couple, the young man will make arrangements for space in the lodge of a brother, cousin, or uncle, where there is more room. These are all his close relations, and he is welcome in any of their lodges, and has rights there.

Sometimes, if two young people are fond of each other, and there is no prospect of their being married, they may take riding horses and a pack horse, and elope at night, going to some other camp for a while. This makes the girl's father angry, for he feels that he has been defrauded of his payments. The young man knows that his father-in-law bears him a grudge, and if he afterwards goes to war and is successful, returning with six or seven horses, he will send them all to the camp where his father-in-law lives, to be tied in front of his lodge. This at once heals the breach, and the couple may return. Even if he has not been successful in war and brought horses, which of course he does not always accomplish, he from time to time sends the old man a present, the best he can. Notwithstanding these efforts at conciliation, the parents feel very bitterly against him. The girl has been stolen. The union is no marriage at all. The old people are ashamed and disgraced for their daughter. Until the father has been pacified by satisfactory payments, there is no marriage. Moreover, unless the young man had made a payment, or at least had endeavored to do so, he would be little thought of among his fellows, and looked down on as a poor creature without any sense of honor.

The Blackfeet take as many wives as they wish; but these ceremonies are only carried out in the case of the first wife, the "sits-beside-him" woman. In the case of subse-

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

is yet too young to be concerned with the past; but why no thought of the future? Again a question for further reflection.

I met some younger men, visibly Indian, who also were raised in the more traditional full-blood homes, but who are better educated than others from a similar background. They speak both languages fluently and are able interpreters. Raymond Black Plume expressed a primary goal of these men. "I want to make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best from the white way." These men see themselves as representatives of the full-blood group within the council, and actively seek office. Raymond has served several terms.

He participates in Indian ceremonies and knows much of the old religion and rituals, although he himself is a Christian and an active church member. His commitment to the old beliefs is difficult to assess. Although he is more than tolerant of the old practices, and gives the impression of being a respectful non-believer, occasional statements lead me to believe that there is much in the old religion that appeals to him, and he may have assimilated some of this into his Christian practice. Raymond's father, recently dead, had been one of the "chiefs," so Raymond's knowledge of Blackfeet lore and life came directly to him in his childhood home. Beyond this, he has traveled widely and has studied and accepted much white culture from his schooling.

I met a few others like him, all of whom are interested in tribal affairs and work regularly in council or agency jobs, or as clerks, teachers or tradesmen. These people, while differing as individuals, represent another kind of full-blood Indian.

Raymond, age forty-one, is married and has four children. His frame house has four rooms and, differing from those mentioned earlier, has more furnishings, including a refrigerator and a television set. He has a recent model automobile that is kept in good condition, but shows little attention to minor details of upkeep.

The house is located near those of other members of his family along a small creek, several miles from Browning, where the family members pooled their labor to develop a stock ranch. When Raymond is serving on the council, or employed at a council or agency job, he can count on his brothers, uncles, and nephews to look after the place, while his income, which is large in terms of the reservation average, will be used to keep all the family going when they need money.

These activities also indicated that Raymond is keenly interested in the present, ongoing activities of tribe and ranch. He also likes to talk of the past—a past in which he is interested and of which he has heard much from his father. However, he has no desire to return to those days, only a wish to use what good the old culture has to offer for today. He also thinks much about the future. He has goals for the people and for himself. He intends to build up the ranch until it can support the family. "I'll be ready if termination[1] comes," he said; "I'll be able to take care of myself and family." His progress toward this end appears to be slow, but he is making headway.

Raymond said that his greatest problems arise from the jealousy of his

[1] Termination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between Indians and the federal government.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Siksika and the Kainah—who often came to the aid of the Piegan in times of conflict.

While kin ties were basic to band formation, friendship and self-interest played a part as well, and people changed bands when they felt it advantageous to do so. Ewers believes that this shifting band allegiance had developed with the inequal distribution of wealth that followed the acquisition of the horse. Poor people became more dependent upon the generosity of the wealthy few and attached themselves to the bands of those men who could best provide for them.

Band membership then was based first of all upon kin ties, but with no absolute rule of descent. Wives usually joined the band of their husbands and children belonged to that of their father, but it was not unusual for a man to join his wife's group. A widow could choose to remain in her husband's band or to return to that of her parents. A man could change band affiliation "even in middle life . . ." (Wissler 1911:19). Other persons attached themselves to the band for various reasons, and long residence with a band, and acceptance by its members, was tantamount to band membership.

The tribe was a larger association of individual bands whose members recognized common ties of language, kinship and culture. It was an organized unit only during the few weeks of the summer hunt, and tribal discipline operated only at this time. Even here the bands retained their spatial and functional autonomy; each band had it habitual place in the camp circle and continued to operate as an economic and political unit with only a part of its powers surrendered to the tribal organization.

Like other Plains Indians, the Piegan had a series of men's organizations, or societies, of which there were three basic types: age-graded warrior societies, religious societies and cults, and the less formal dance association.

The named warrior societies (Mosquitoes, Pigeons, Braves, All-Crazy Dogs, etc.) were corporate groups, that is, they continued over time, surviving the individual members. Groups of young men of a similar age sometimes started a new society, or, more usually, got together and bought memberships in an ongoing society. Similarly the old members would in turn buy into the next age-rank. The transfer was between individuals and such purchases could occur at any time. It was customary, however, for several men to transfer at the same time. Periodic transfers of this kind made possible a progressive movement of membership from a lower to a higher ranking society as men grew older. The oldest society might continue as its ranks were renewed from below, or eventually die out as its members passed away.

These were the groups granted policing powers at the summer encampment. In addition they served to promote the military spirit of the members through war games and intersociety competition in races, dancing and games.

The medicine men's societies and related cults were less formally organized gatherings of men who owned important medicine bundles and powers. These men conferred together to aid in the organization and presentation of the Sun Dance and to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the tribe. The dance organizations were social clubs made up of young men who organized for the purpose of staging social dances during the time of the summer encampment.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

dynamic one, and included remarks that were critical of his own candidacy or performance in office. On one occasion the interpreter gave introductory recognition to candidates who were unable to attend and commented that "your support at the polls would be most appreciated" by those candidates. People running for office draw upon ties of kinship that might have been overlooked or ignored in the recent past. It is often said that if you can get the support of a few key people you can be assured of the "full-blood vote," indicating the belief that kinsmen will vote with their family leaders.

People of both orientations attend church services according to individual interests and needs. Leaders of the different denominations actively proselyte among both unaffiliated people and the membership of the other churches. Interest in church attendance appears to follow the patterns indicated in the responses to my questionnaire where only three of the Indian-oriented and four of the white-oriented reported regular church attendance.

Rodeos and sports events are occasions for the largest gatherings which include relatively equal attendance and participation by people of both orientations. The rodeo attracts the largest crowds. These are public events open to all who buy a ticket and are given wide publicity; the participants are largely local people and drawn from both orientation groups.

People from both groups were seen in attendance at rodeos held in Browning and at Birch Creek during each summer of fieldwork. The informal grouping in the stands and around the grounds appear to be based on family and friendship ties. Families—parents, children and grandchildren—sit together. People apart from their families sit with their friends. In the rural areas, the spectators sit in cars and trucks, or stand around the arena. They cheer for their kinsmen and friends and jeer at the opposition; it is a lively and often moving crowd. Cultural orientations appear to operate in the smaller groupings that make up the larger crowds.

The sports events draw smaller numbers of people than do the rodeos, but the nature of participation and attendance is similar. One such event, an elementary school track meet I attended, appeared particularly noteworthy because it is comparable in many respects to the Easter Egg Hunt described later in this section.

This track and field meet between the Browning and neighborhood elementary schools was an activity in which children took part without regard to the orientation of their families. It was held at the Browning High School track on a cold, blustery spring day and people of both orientations attended—parents, teachers, and track fans. Informal groupings by family and friends were noted here too, but it was a moving crowd and interaction patterns were hard to identify.

Various other public ceremonies attract participants and on-lookers from all segments of the population, usually on the basis of who has an interest in the particular event scheduled. I recall two such occasions: a ceremony honoring an Air Force contingent from Malmstrom Air Force Base near Great Falls in 1959 and the dedication of a War Veterans memorial by the War Mothers on the grounds of the Museum of the Plains Indian in 1967. Both ceremonies were held on the Museum grounds and drew participants from both orientations—Tribal Councilmen, Honorary Councilmen, the American Legion Color Guard, and in the

[i.e., White vs. Indian-orientation—Analyst]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

has gained them this status, however, cannot be translated into effective, practical political and economic leadership, so that another type of Indian-oriented leader must fill this gap.

Interpreters,[16] like Raymond Black Plume, form a high status class made up of relatively younger men who are better educated, were raised in Indian-oriented homes, speak both languages fluently, and have assumed, or gained, leadership roles in the community. They express the ambition to "make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best of the white way." They are capable of fitting into a role made necessary by the reservation complex wherein two contrasting societies attempt to function under a common political system. They can talk to and better understand both sides. At the same time, these leaders *are Indian-oriented*. They want to be accepted by the Indian society and want to maintain Indian identity, but both the bicultural milieu and their personal qualities lead to an understanding and participation that differs from that of the chiefs.

The interpreters know much of the old religion and lore. Quite often their fathers had been of the chief class and these men had been taught some of the traditions in their homes. But they are not committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who are Catholics look for elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they are adept at finding Christian analogues for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[17]

The interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and subscribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters frequently put up a tepee for Indian Days, wear a chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian names, and belong to a men's society.

In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work, and some economic success are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. The interpreters are not wealthy. They usually earn good salaries in agency or council positions but they use this income to help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the ranch in return for some financial support. All share in the profits and losses from the enterprise.

[16] In an earlier paper I included the interpreters among what I called the 150% Men—people who knew two cultures well (McFee 1968).

[17] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults common to so many Indian reservations even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

might be ended by a payment of horses to the family of the deceased. Thus it was possible for a wealthy man literally to get away with murder, although he would not enhance his popularity by doing so.

Frequent changes in band allegiance brought together in one residential community people without blood relationship closer than that of second cousins. Marriage between such persons was permitted. In fact, the fathers and mothers of several of my older Blackfoot informants were members of the same band at the time of their marriages.

Young men enjoyed remarkable freedom in their sexual life. They accosted girls while they were alone gathering wood or water on the outskirts of camp. They bragged of their conquests, particularly if they had had an affair with a married woman. Chastity before marriage was more an ideal than a reality for many girls. Yet a girl who earned a reputation for being too free with her favors might have to be satisfied with marrying a poor boy whose future prospects were equally poor.

Faint-hearted lovers, or more aggressive ones whose advances were repulsed by the girls of their choice, sometimes employed love medicines to bring them success in their amorous endeavors. These were secret formulae concocted by specialists for a fee. Because the Cree Indians were famous for these medicines, the Blackfeet referred to love medicine as "Cree Medicine." There were many varieties. One such medicine called for making two little birch bark images, one representing a man and the other a woman. A stick was dipped in the liquid medicine, then touched to the hearts of the male and female figures. This magic was certain to make the girl long for the company of her as yet unsuccessful lover. So powerful were love medicines reputed to be that resistance to them was considered useless.

Fathers and mothers were ambitious for their daughters to marry well. It was not uncommon for the father of a little girl to tell a successful warrior, "When my daughter is old enough, she will be your wife." The marriage might not take place for a decade. Elk-Hollering-in-the-Water told me she was promised

to Bear Chief when she was no more than seven. She married him when she was about seventeen. Some girls married before the age of twelve, but many reached their middle teens before they took this serious step. Few young men married before the age of twenty-one. 584 582

It was considered a family disgrace for an unmarried girl to become pregnant. The girl alone was held responsible for her actions. It was something of a disgrace to the families of both boy and girl if they eloped. The socially approved marriage was an important family function. It was arranged by a close friend or a relative of the boy with the girl's father or elder brother. Marriage was simply solemnized by an exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom. The first gifts could be offered by either the bride's or the groom's folks. Horses always were the most prized gift. One or more horses were invariably given, along with robes or blankets and household goods of lesser value. Relatives commonly chipped in to make the marriage gifts as imposing as possible. It was expected that the gifts returned by the spouse's family should be more lavish than those they had received. The bride went to live with her husband in a separate lodge or that of his family. 848 583 584 585 431

My elderly informants were very careful to remind me that white men who claimed the Blackfeet used to purchase their wives were misinformed. They stressed the importance of the exchange of gifts in the old-time Blackfoot marriage ceremony. [583]

After marriage it was improper for the husband to speak directly to his mother-in-law. But his ties with the male members of his wife's family generally became very strong. He commonly gave horses to his elder brother-in-law after his return from a successful horse raid. He sometimes gave him choice buffalo meat after a hunt. 602 [606] [607]

Polygamy was common among the Blackfeet because it was a practical means of caring for the excess of women created by heavy war losses. Women outnumbered men by two or three to one. Possession of several wives was one of the distinguishing marks of the successful man. A few of the leading chiefs had ten 595 [182] [556]

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

has been recorded. But it is evident from the data at hand that the similarities were great and the differences superficial. If a general equivalence in the earlier systems is tentatively accepted, present data for the Blood indicate deviational tendencies not unlike those exhibited by the North Blackfoot. It would seem that the abolition of polygamy and the consequent weakening of the sororate have been largely responsible for recent changes in kinship organization in both tribes. However, behavior patterns on the two reserves still show certain marked differences. They reflect not only changes in kinship organization, but the total historical experience of each group.

In this monograph, Blackfoot, and more specifically Blood society, is designated as competitive. The mixed nature of all societies is obvious, and where classification depends on the weighing of numerous complex factors, correct descriptive categories are frequently difficult to determine. The Pueblo masses may show a high degree of cooperation in their agricultural activities, but such statements as Benavides' regarding the continual factional strife between "warriors and sorcerers,"[6] even if exaggerated as some anthropologists believe, serve to explain, at least in part, the recent struggles for power within the priesthoods at Cochiti, Isleta, and Santa Ana.[6] In our own society, great insistence is placed on teamwork in the industrial plant and in the fighting machine, but there can be little doubt that most of our efforts are directed toward "seeking and endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time."[7]

For some, the situation among the Blood may seem less transparent, but close study of the facts reveals predominantly competitive trends. In the pre-reserve period, hunting the buffalo demanded a high degree of cooperation, but skins were variously and by no means equitably distributed. In warfare, competition was flagrant, rivalrous attitudes overtly and blatantly expressed. In the reserve period, economic change was comparatively frequent and radical. The distribution of land and cattle in 1877 for the asking, and of land again in 1910 and for several years thereafter, changed the quality of competition.[8] But during these sixty years, as in the preceding decades, goals remained competitive, behavior individualistic, hostility overt. In the new administrative situation, the Blood preserved, perhaps

[6] *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, p. 30 ff.

[6] Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, for Cochiti, note Vol. 1, p. 168, for Isleta, note Vol. 2, p. 926; for Santa Ana, see Leslie A. White, *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*, pp. 95, 115 ff.

[7] Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, Introduction, p. 8.

[8] For a better understanding of the various factors involved in evaluating competitive trends, I am particularly indebted to Dr. K. A. Wittfogel.

11: Goldfrank E-4.5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

"The Blackfoot are very fond of their children," wrote Maximilian in 1832;[197] and it would be utterly misleading if today we minimized the passionate warmth that most Blood lavish upon their children, particularly upon their younger offspring and their favorites. But where families are easily broken, where abandonment is not unusual, and where a child on his own initiative frequently seeks a parent substitute, the parent-child relationship necessarily lacks the intensity that distinguishes it in our culture. The trauma of separation is reduced as well as the child's resentment against the parent who has acted without much consideration for his well-being. Not that the hurt is forgotten nor even entirely forgiven, but a Julia Curtis will eagerly recount a visit to a mother who left her at nine to the ministrations of a paternal aunt and married a man on another reserve; a Ned Sloane will speak lovingly of the grandmother who urged that he be "thrown away" because he had caused his mother's death in childbirth; a Myrtle Pointed Plume will show no animosity toward her adopted father (actually her grandfather) although he insisted after she had spent eleven years as a *minípoka* in his household, that she remain with her own parents when he took another wife.

Early in childhood preference patterns are established and these function quickly in time of small strain or great crisis. One mother said that her eldest son always went to the home of his father's mother's sister when trouble was brewing; she herself spent much of her girlhood both before and after her mother abandoned her father, at her father's sister's. Another, speaking of her various children, said, "Myrtle is her grandfather Pointed Plume's favorite; Fanny is her grandfather William's favorite; Rosalie is her grandmother Julia's favorite; Harold is his father's favorite and Otis is mine." Only one, the eldest, was a true *minípoka* (she had been adopted by her paternal grandfather so he could more easily honor her and, what was equally important, continue to enhance his own prestige); but each of the others felt secure in his own brand of favoritism even if it was less ostentatiously expressed.

Despite their informal status, these lesser favorites expected the same privileged treatment from their warm supporters that true favorites received from theirs, and within reason they were not disappointed. When Julia's Rosalie, a child of seven, spilled water and came weeping to her grandmother because she was afraid her sister Myrtle *might* tell on her (which incidentally she showed no disposition to do), the grandmother's only comment as she took the little girl upon her knee was, "Myrtle is so spoiled."

Boys may find a haven with an older sister, but a young girl would hesi-

[197] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 252.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

602 855 [593] 597 [736] tate to enter a household where she is considered a "distant wife." In most instances, an aunt who has weathered the domestic storms of the early years of marriage, or a grandmother or great-aunt are the preferred relatives.

Adoption brings renewed hope of security to those children who have been orphaned or deserted, for the society deals none too kindly with these unfortunate ones. Frequently, they become slaveys in the families that take them in. Rarely, if ever, do they have an opportunity to make a "good" marriage. Once adopted, however, their status is immediately improved. They take their chances with the rest of the children. Some, like the youngest son of the old chief, Red Crow, may even be made an honored favorite. All expect to share in the family wealth.

Primarily, however, adoption serves the advantage of the older generation. A childless pair may take as their own the child of a fecund couple in the hope that then their union will be similarly blessed; or, having lost a loved one in death, the sad parents may feel that their only consolation [737] lies in substitution. But to the question, "Why do you adopt children?" a Blood will most often answer, "We adopt children so someone will take care of us in our old age." And so important is this old age insurance that a poor child will be sought in preference to one with property: "If a child [181] has property, he will leave us when he grows up." In this competitive society, the old have little confidence that the man of property will share it with them, even if he is an adopted son.[169]

872 [593] The child, who probably never felt too secure at home, is now separated from his parents when he is six or eight and placed in one of the two sectarian boarding schools on the reservation. If his home is nearby, he may have visitors but most of the children, at least in the winter months, have little if any contact with their relatives. Some remain at school the year [178] round. For all, however, it is a partial break with Blood tradition and culture.

872 155 182 [572] Ironically enough, in this increasingly individualistic society, it is these boarding schools that offer the most extended experience in joint living and cooperation. Among other things, they have encouraged the girls to take *taka*. But their general emphasis is so contrary and their strict authoritarianism so foreign to the normal patterns of Blood life that their socializing influence is negligible. To a few children they have been havens from abuse or family discord, but even those who have benefited most from prolonged schooling (because they were poor or orphaned) suit their behavior in later life, not to their teachers' precepts, but to their social station.

---

[171] [169] K. A. Wittfogel (*Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Entwicklung der Familienautorität*, pp. 491, 506) points out that lack of security in old age is frequent in societies where the satisfaction of basic needs depends on "physical strength" rather than on "careful thought and accumulated experience."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

matter whether residence was patrilocal or matrilocal, it was customary for a young married couple to have their own tipi. Today, married children, because of the considerable expense and labor involved in building or buying a modern permanent dwelling, frequently bring their spouses into their parents' home. The arrangement inevitably increases the possibility of discord. If residence is matrilocal, the situation is further complicated by the traditional mother-in-law "avoidance." Some sons-in-law have ceased to observe this taboo either because it is inconvenient or "old-fashioned." While such a breakdown in restraint may lead to a better understanding between a man and his wife's mother, it may as easily lead to a more overt expression of hostility.

Distant Relatives and Friends

Where close familial bonds are so brittle, little can be expected from distant relatives. Henry Arrow-maker, owner of considerable grazing land but no cattle, is on government relief. He spoke eagerly of his rich relative, Bob Double Man, the successful cattle herder. He told of friendly conversations as they met casually in Cardston each week, but only during the summer as he went to and from the beet fields did he stay at Bob's house. The gifts received were nominal indeed: board and lodging for a few days. Such qualities as hospitality and generosity are still stressed as desirables and even "musts" in the society, but since success depends little upon them, they receive more lip service than support. Friends and relatives still extend a cordial invitation, but the welcome quickly cools. With the best of will, the Curtises invited the Sloanes to stay with them and work with us. Within a few days, although the Sloanes paid board and brought presents, Julia Curtis was complaining of the extra work and maneuvering their early departure. Again, at the Sun dance, she complained that none of the guests who dropped in for meals gave her any assistance: "People expect everything these days," she added.

VI. Biographical Sketches

Brief and few though the following sketches are, they reveal in a different way, if not completely, the range of personality types among the Blood, the degree of adaptation to a changing society, and the varying responses to status.

The Men

Head Chief. Blanket Man, fifty-six, came of a line of head chiefs. His grandfather was the old chief, Red Crow, who had signed the treaty of 1877. His father, Crop-eared Wolf, succeeded to the chieftaincy. Blanket Man

I. The Kinship System

In this paper we shall first present the kinship structure and subsequently seek to understand some of its implications from the point of view of the cultural totality.[1] In Section III will be found a list of kinship terms with their definitions. Our terminological data were gathered mainly from seven informants, three males and four females. The remainder of our material is taken from scattered references in our field notes.

Generally speaking, the Northern Blackfoot, or *siksika*, make eight kinds of distinction in designating kinsmen: Kin names are distinguished (1) by generation, (2) by relative age, (3) by sex of kinsman, (4) by sex of the speaker, (5) according to whether relatives are in the mother's, father's or affinal families, (6) according to whether they are members of a particular line of relatives, (7) according to whether or not they reside with ego, (8) according to the marital status of certain women. Not all of these distinctions are operative in any single case, nor is any single distinction operative throughout. From these distinctions we have constructed the schema of Figure 1 which illustrates some of the ways in which a Northern Blackfoot views his relatives. The horizontal line through ego divides those older than ego from those younger than ego. The circle surrounding ego demarks an hypothetical group of relatives in what we call an *orientation* group. From this center radiate lines indicating the mother's, the father's and the affinal family, in each of which the two sexes are distinguished. Below ego are his descendants and the descendants of his collaterals distinguished according to sex.

Presently the membership of each of these groups will be considered in detail. Now a few preliminary remarks on general features of the system as a whole may clarify our presentation.

We may consider Blackfoot kinship on the basis of the social distance implied by the terms themselves. The greatest social distance is expressed by the term "grandparent." Those called "father" or "mother" have considerably greater intimacy in relation to ego, as the equivalent terms connote in our own cultural setting. Between siblings, generally speaking, social distance is least, and the culture expects cordial relations.

---

[1] The spelling of the Blackfoot kinship terms is reasonably correct, but unforeseen conditions prevent a final check at this time. They will be checked in a later publication.

A.[See Category 601, pp. 29-31--Analyst]

601 Applying these considerations to the kinship system, we observe in
602 father's family a high concentration of persons termed "grandparent," and in general there is considerable social distance between these individuals and ego. Mother's family, on the other hand, contains a high concentration of mothers, fathers and brothers, and social distance is generally less. The affinal family, however, contains a large number of grandparents, where again social distance is considerable.

Two general principles of reckoning social distance enter here. In father's family age is a clear factor. As one approaches ego's own age level, the social

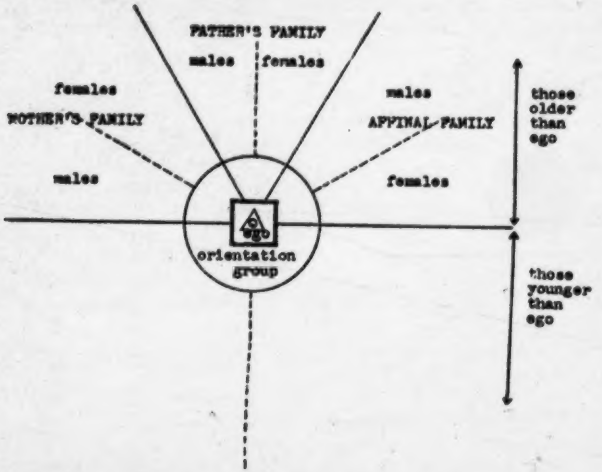

Fig. 1.—Showing schematically the relation of a male or female ego to categories of kinsmen, as mediated by the orientation group.

distance decreases, so that persons of like age are more intimate. In mother's family and in the affinal family of a man, generation becomes the main principle of establishing social distance; e.g., wife's sisters are less distant than wife's mother.

[593] Sex introduces a further complicating factor. A boy reaching puberty learns increasingly to respect his sister, thus introducing social distance in his relationship to her. At her marriage, if it has not already occurred by the time of puberty, social distance is formally recognized when the sister depresses her brother one generation terminologically. Though it does not

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

affect her designation of the brother himself, his wife and children are now called respectively "daughter-in-law" and "grandchildren." 601

One further distinction should be noted. Though we tend to consider social distance unilinearly as remoteness at one extreme and intimacy at the other, extremely significant qualitative differences in relationship are also involved. Remoteness may be the basis of complete social isolation, or it may form a condition for hate, anger, dominance or exhibition. In Blackfoot culture the social distance of the father's family and the affinal family must be qualitatively distinguished. While the affinal family's social distance implies isolation, the father's family in its remoteness implies authority. This is reflected terminologically, for though ego addresses both his father's father and his wife's father as "grandparent," the father-in-law calls ego "son-in-law," while father's father calls ego "grandson." 602 [593]

From the foregoing remarks the intent of the system seems to be a patrilineal organization. Authority is vested in the father's family, while warm intimacy characterizes the relations to the mother's family. The marriage of a woman implies the severing of relations with her own family and becoming a part of her husband's family. A man by reason of authority based on age and generation would appear to hold together the group of male kinsmen with their wives, sons and unmarried daughters. Indeed, this would be in keeping with the general pattern for the northern Plains and Woodland tribes of North America. [171]

In practise, however, the anarchistic individualism of the Plains changes the emphasis of this system. Family organization is multilineal; living is multilocal. Authority as exemplified in the band system is more like the relationship of landlord to tenant than lord to vassal. It is based on the supposition of a continuous flow of benefits to the submitter, rather than the humble submission to might in return for favors. As a consequence a kinsman uses his relatives for whatever benefits they may bring him. Only those whose wealth enables them to maintain a continuous flow of benefits have the continuity of the ideal system of patrilineally organized groups. But even they, because of their positions, have many besides siblings and their descendants as followers. Relatives through one's mother, through one's wife as well as their kinsmen, in fact any person with the remotest claim of relationship, may come to reap the benefits that a wealthy man distributes. Only in this light can the actual working of the system be understood. [191] [591] [621]

The Orientation Group

Let us first identify the group of relatives in this category and then attempt to justify the distinction. Membership in an orientation group includes ego's father (*nɪn.'a*), mother and her co-wives (*nɪksɪs'ta*), older brother (*nɪ'sᵃ*), older sister (*nɪn'sta*), and younger sibling (*nɪskɔn.'ᵃ* for a 596 601

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

596 601 male speaker and *nisis.'a* for a female speaker).[2] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nuxki.'man*), son (*nuxki'a*) and daughter (*nuan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

596 591 592 [601] The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, [593] actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow [606] for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a [587] male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among [735] the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mustered, could such a group exist in practise.

596 602 601 [124] Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would imply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'. . ." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

---

[2] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

group to serve as a center of reference. The term *nitzki.'man* may be distinguished from *nitoto'zki.man*. The first refers to my wife; the second refers to my wife's sister married to another man or to the wife of my comrade. The infix *o* refers to distance or separation; and the foregoing term with this infix may be translated, as our interpreters were wont to do, "my 'distant' wife." The corresponding term is "'distant' husband" (*nitotoyom.'ª*), which may be contrasted with "husband" (*nom.'a*). We find a similar distinction between the terms for own children and grandchildren: thus my daughter is *nitan.'a* while my granddaughter is *nis.otan.'a*, suggesting that the latter may be considered as a daughter through one's own daughter or a distant daughter. Michelson has also noticed this infix, though he referred only to its presence in *nitoto'zki.man*.[3]

Father's Family

We include the males and females of the direct patrilineal line and its collaterals, ego's own siblings and paternal male parallel cousins. Though we have included ego's own siblings and father in the group of orientation, for the sake of showing the extent of the terminological principle, we reinclude them here. Males in father's family are addressed according to relative age with reference to ego and ego's father. This makes five logical possibilities for naming, all of which are used: (1) Those older than father and their wives are called "grandparent" (*naa'xsª*). (2) Those of father's age are called "father," i.e., "father's comrade," and their wives are called "mother." (3) Those younger than father but older than ego are called "older brother," and their wives are called "mother" by male and unmarried female speakers; after being married, a woman calls an older brother's wife "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mpsª*). (4) Those of ego's age of either sex are called "comrade" (*nitak.'a*); wives of comrades are called by men "'distant' wife" (*nitoto'zki.man*); husbands of comrades are called by women "'distant' husband" (*nitotoyom.'ª*). The term of address for the husband of a female comrade as spoken by a male is "older brother" or "younger sibling"; for the wife of a male comrade as spoken by a female it is "older sister" or "younger sibling". (5) Siblings or first generation descendants of older brothers, if these descendants are younger than ego, are called "younger sibling," and the wives of these men are called "daughter-in-law" by both sexes. This is diagrammed in Figure 2.

The females of father's family are designated according to generation. All women of father's generation or of the preceding generations and their husbands are blanketed as "grandparent." Women of ego's generation are called "younger sibling" or "older sister." Though generation is the general

[3] Michelson, T. *Piegan Kinship System*, Holmes Anniversary Volume, Washington, D. C. 1916, p. 320 f.

596 601 602 601 [113]

ever, should be noted, that the siblings of mother's father are termed "grandparent," though their male descendants in mother's generation become "older brother" or "younger sibling." The wives of these older brothers are called "mother"; the wives of younger male siblings are called "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mpsᵃ*). 601

Women of mother's family are designated according to generation regardless of sex or marital status of the speaker. The women of mother's mother's generation are "grandparent"; those of mother's generation are "mother"; those of ego's own generation are "older sister" or "younger sibling." The husbands of these women are given the corresponding male relationship term of the woman whom they marry; thus men marrying women in

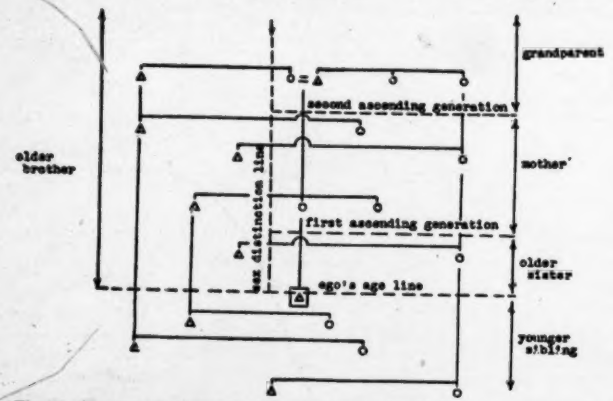

Fig. 3.—Showing the form of address for mother's family and its collaterals by male and unmarried female ego.

mother's mother's generation are "grandparent," in mother's generation are "father," and in ego's own generation are "sister's husband" (*nistamo'*) for the males and "distant husband" (*nitotoyom.'ᵃ*) for the females. This means of designation is illustrated in Figure 3.

On marrying, the status of the woman is suddenly elevated with respect to the males of her mother's family. All males called "older brother" are lowered a generation by the female speaker. Though it is not shown by a change of the term of address for this man, it is revealed in two other ways: first, his wife is no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mpsᵃ*); second, his children are called "grandson" (*nis.zku'ᵃ*) and "granddaughter" (*nis.otan.'ᵃ*) rather than "older sibling" or "younger sibling." In 602

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger." 000

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the co-respondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son." 561 593 578 [558] [553] [622] [558] [684] [587]

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*nitax'-soku'*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority. 561 602 571 [601] [597] [575] [578] [182]

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen- [152] [154]

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

561 iority, tempered, to be sure, by bonds of affection between members of a
571 family, yet finally secure only in the company of one's equals, the com-
[602] rades, who were for the most part outside the kin group.

Generation

561 As seniority ordered the relations between males and to a lesser degree
602 between females, the concept of generation was the more important one
601 ordering the relations of Northern Blackfoot women to each other. With the exception of the sibling terms, which differentiate older and younger than
593 ego, the basis for social relationships was fixed by generation. Three main
561 types of relationship may be distinguished: (1) Mother-daughter relationships implied sacrifice by mother for daughter and obedience by daughter to mother's commands. A mother sent her daughter with a tipi made by her own hands to her first husband. She had also made moc-
[844] casins for her future son-in-law and his parents. At the birth of her daughter's child, she was a prominent figure in helping at the delivery. (2) In the absence of a mother, the older sister fulfilled these obligations, but in general the relations of older to younger sister required more reciprocity than was the case with ego's relationship to her mother. Once the younger sister reached a position where she had means of repaying, she was expected to
[595] repay in various ways her older sister's kindness. Such cooperation was the ideal, and a Blackfoot argument for sororal polygyny held that blood sisters made a more harmonious household than unrelated co-wives. However, in practice the older sister often sat leisurely in command of her husband's household as the "sits-beside-him wife" while her younger sisters performed
603 the arduous work in the tipi and cared for the children. (3) The relationship
561 of grandmother to granddaughter was typically remote, somewhat reserved and distant as before all elderly people. Grandmothers, however, made a practice of befriending and maintaining warm, affectionate relations with one or more of their grandchildren. Thus nearly every child could count on warmth and devotion in at least one of the austere old women.

561 These generations are conceptually arranged in two different ways. All
601 women of a mother and daughter line arranged themselves in biological generation terms. In addition there is evidence for counting generation in a second way, which fixed the relationships to the lateral lines. After ego's marriage cross-cousins on the mother's side were all called "grandchildren." At this time also the wives of this line of mother's brothers were no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law." On the paternal side father's sister
[178] was called "grandmother." Our older informants state that the female descending line of this woman was also called "grandmother." Today, however, the descendants are called "older sister" or "younger sister." The term "grandmother" is, nevertheless, in keeping with the practice of calling

maternal cross-cousins "grandchildren," as one would expect them to reply to the term "grandchild" with the corresponding term "grandmother." Occasional cases appear in our notes where an older person calls his father's sister's child affectionately "little grandmother." If this evidence is sufficient, the paternal cross-cousins were once elevated by the females, while the maternal cross-cousins were once depressed two generations. We con-

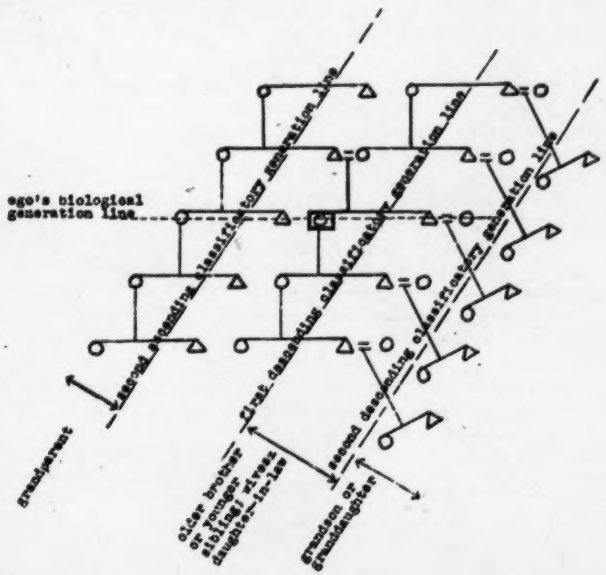

Fig. 7.—Showing the classificatory generation lines for a married female ego with reference to the ascending and descending lines of father's sister and mother's brother.

strue this as a second way of calculating generation. It is diagrammed in Figure 7.

That this second kind of generation reckoning was not entirely nominal may be seen from several cases. Our informants described father's sister, called "grandparent," as one of the most remote and awe-inspiring relatives. In one case a woman was being disparaged by our informant, and as evidence

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

of her ill-mannered ways she was accused of joking obscenely with a paternal cross-cousin who was nominally her grandmother. In another case a man was reciting a general formula for handling wives who had gone home from their husbands: "Then the husband would send his sister to the home of the wife's brothers to solicit in his behalf." If it be recalled that she along with her brother is elevated by siblings of the wife's family, then we can understand her power as mediator. In another instance a man married two women who were cross-cousins to each other; he was severely criticised for marrying wives who were "two generations apart."

We were struck by the differing ethos of the woman's world as compared with the man's. Confined in their activity largely to the camp, women were more complacent, resigned, physically less active, and less apt to engage in physical battle to settle their differences. This, we believe, was in part the result of the greater importance of kinship in fixing their social relations than was the case with men. First it was more difficult for women to alter their status in the social group than for men. War and wealth did not offer opportunities; rather the woman's position was dependent in this male-dominated society upon the status of her husband. The wife of a chief (*ni'na.ki*) might display her personal finery to the discredit of other women, but it was only as the wife of a chief that such conduct was possible. Otherwise she was a deviant who was treated accordingly. To be sure, women might raise their status in the social hierarchy through religious and ceremonial participation, but unlike coups in battle, the woman who vowed six Sun Dances was accorded very little, if any, more respect than one who vowed one or two Sun Dances. Though women took pride in good handwork, there was no widespread or standardised recognition of these accomplishments that we have uncovered, unlike the Cheyenne women who were admitted to a society in recognition for outstanding handwork.[6] Hence the kinship system appears to be more effective than was the case with men in channeling social relationships between women, for there were fewer competing factors to disrupt its efficient working.

Marriage: A Union between Female and Male Worlds

The male world was outside the tipi in the tending of horses, hunting and the counting of coups. There the world was ordered through seniority. Within the tipi it was a woman's world with objects made by the woman, with children to be tended, and with other women categorised in terms of generation who assisted her with her duties. Marriage was the institution that united these two worlds, but it presented a break with the life of the past for both partners.

[6] Grinnell, G. B. *The Cheyenne Indians*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, Vol. 1, p. 130 ff.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another. 593 592 581

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt. 581 593 [606]

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nustamo'* while he replied to them with *nustamoa'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security. 601 607 [554] 561 602 607

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her 601 607 [554] 607 585

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
[778] ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[575] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
[575] under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[571] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cul-
562 tural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and ma'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmention-
[432] able event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
581 through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
582 obtain the rewards of the culture.

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
607 brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages.

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the role of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter."

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

It will have been observed that the woman's system of relating herself to other women is very similar to the Crow kinship structure. Though the presence of such a structure may imply matrilineality, the fact that no clan structure existed necessarily dissipates this possibility. Rather, the somewhat fluid band group contained relatives of a wide variety of relationship and even some unrelated persons if the chief were wealthy and generous. Rather than an emphasis on kin relationships as a patrilineality or a matrilineality would imply, we find instead that a conceivably close bond of blood may be sacrificed for a remoter relationship with greater economic advantage. It is as if one blood relationship were nearly as important as any other and that each merely served as the entrée for advancing one's private interests.

Points of Weakness in the Structure

There were two main points of weakness in the kinship structure which we shall discuss, one in the relationship between siblings, and another in the relationship of husband and wife. Both of these weaknesses were in a large measure due to the disrupting effect of Plains individualism.

We have already noted that brothers might be in conflict, although the emphasis was certainly on fraternal solidarity. There was a continual potential conflict between familial solidarity with authority vested in the eldest and the outspoken individualism of the Plains expressed as a desire to be unhampered by outside authorities. This progressed in the Northern Blackfoot to the extent of dissipating even familial groupings. The leaders of a band were usually close relatives. After Crowfoot's death, for example, the leadership of his band passed through the line of his brothers in order of their age and today has ended nominally with the eldest son of Crowfoot's youngest brother. The followers of a chief, however, were usually any relative of the chief but not necessarily close relatives, for these closer relatives of lesser people tended to move to other camps where opportunities were better. Rather than risk conflict with an elder brother and rather than cooperate to make a common living, brothers moved away to other camps where opportunities might be better with some other relative. The following case of a young man and his mother illustrates the ephemerality of authority of one sibling over another and the solution by moving to another camp.

Many Mules and his mother camped with Big Black Collar, mother's brother, for Many Mules' father had died. The agent offered cattle to the Indians, and Calf Bull, Many Mules' sister's husband, who was chief of a band, bought some. He also advised Many Mules to buy some, but Many Mules said he must first consult his "older brother." Big Black Collar advised against it, saying that those who bought cattle would be sent north and denied the weekly meat rations. Many Mules followed his older brother's advice at that time but in the meanwhile helped Calf Bull from time to time with his cattle. When subsequently the agent offered cattle free to any Indian,

592 of the total. I will discuss this larger sample in more detail momen-
594 tarily.
596
The Browning household pattern contrasts significantly in the
128 occurrence of multiple-family households. I will show that though
369 fewer families in my Browning sample cluster under a single roof, there
592 is considerable inter-household economic cooperation where such coopera-
594 tion is possible. A family in Browning can better manage a single
369 dwelling in some respects, as compared with the rural setting. Trans-
128 portation, for example, is not as much of a problem to those in Browning
[594] since one can easily walk to his job, grocery stores, etc., whereas in
the rural districts transportation assistance is often required when a
family alone cannot afford the convenience of a private vehicle.
592 Secondly, and more importantly, ADC-recipient matrifocal household
651 heads receive more assistance in Browning in securing quarters through
369 the welfare offices. Another factor is the relative scarcity of avail-
362 able low income kin with whom some of the low and unstable income
[602] families in Browning can join under one roof. The kinship network in
602 the rural districts is more tightly knit, with more frequent economic
369 interchanges between closely related families.

Browning is more urbanized in the sense that atomization and isolation of kin units occur with greater frequency. This is relative, however, because in Browning one finds a good deal of mutual, kin-based aid, as I will discuss below.

124 While in Browning I secured additional household composition data
129 from random sources so as to obtain a larger sample than the 39 household

592 434 128

$1800) show the low income positions for these family types compared with others in the diagram. An explanation of the eighteen exceptions in Table 23 will lend additional support to my principal hypothesis.

Eight of the low income families are female-headed. Five of these are grandparent-grandchild households headed by four elderly (657) widows and one elderly divorcee. In all of these cases the elder females support their dependent grandchildren on ADC payments or meager (464) pensions. In only one case does the elder head partially depend upon the earnings of a resident grandchild (a female whose adult grandson earns about $500 per annum firefighting). However, all of these households receive some aid from kinsmen who reside near them in Browning. 592 434 476 602 In only one instance is financial aid substantial; among the remainder assistance takes the form of baby-sitting, house-keeping, transportation and occasional food. Frequently some aid is given in return--baby-sitting, food, and house-keeping. Mutual emotional support is frequent in all cases. Most of the elderly household heads seem to manage on their ADC or other meager sources of income, although their financial circumstances at times are exceedingly precarious.

The remaining three female-headed households shed a somewhat different light on the low income, independent nuclear families. These three households are headed by young females (all are 27 years of age) with two or three offspring. All are divorcees. Two of them lived with closely related families in the past but had finally managed to pull together enough ADC income to reside alone with their children. All three receive substantial economic and labor assistance from their consanguines.

592 Another difference between elder and younger heads of female-
434 headed households is experience in the management of their incomes;
591 there is also a difference in the number of kinsmen available to each
602 type of household for assistance. The elder females have long managed on low incomes, learning through experience to parcel their resources carefully. The younger female household heads once resided with their parents or other kinsmen. Their temporary stays with these kinsmen were marked by periods of re-adjustment to their marital disruption and subsequent courtships by new male acquaintances. When the adjustments were made and no new marital unions were forthcoming, they then sought welfare aid in locating separate quarters. They, unlike the elder female heads, had their parents or other elder kinsmen to call on for aid, while the elder females have only their married children to call on, most of whom were already over-crowded in their residences. These observations offer some explanations as to why elder females remain in separate dwellings. Additionally, some other elder females already own their dwellings and are therefore better able to sustain themselves on low incomes.

128 This leaves ten additional low income, independent nuclear family households to explain as part of exceptions to the hypothesis tested in previous chapters.

592 One of the ten is a very large grandparent-grandchild household
591 with a total of ten persons (two grandparents and eight grandchildren).
602 The elderly couple who head this household assumed the responsibility of raising their eight grandchildren following the death of the

592 youngsters' parents in the flood of 1964. The elderly couple inhabits
591 a flood house in Moccasin Flat, the poorer section of Browning. The
602 grandchildren occasionally stay with their uncles or aunts in the rural districts when school is not in session. There are no available kinsmen who can manage the care of eight additional children in their households year around since all are now raising sizable families of
592 their own. The grandparent-grandchild household, although overcrowded
603 and seriously underfunded, is an exceptionally happy one. The children
511 deeply love their grandparents and are unfailingly eager to assist with household tasks, including care of younger siblings.

592 Near this low-income grandparent-grandchild household is a low-
511 income nuclear family. The female spouse of the household head is a
602 niece of the female and male in the Grandparent-grandchild household.
(423) The dwelling is owned and rented by the elders. Assistance from the
(427) elders is meager, except for the provision of a dwelling at minimal cost. The young family has two other kinsmen available in Browning who
592 could assist them--a married brother and married sister of the female--
511 but these, too, are involved in raising sizable families. They have
602 above average incomes, are climbing out of the poverty their parents
476 knew, and are disinclined to offer money assistance to other related families.

Two other cases, both large households, cope as best they can with their meager resources. There is substantial assistance between the two; one is headed by the father of the male household head in the other. Transportation, child care, and occasional pooling of cash

occur between the two households. No other kin are immediately available to offer aid to either of the cases.

The thirteenth exception consists of a nuclear family household whose head is in his fifties and who, along with his spouse, cares for a brother (of the male head) and four offspring. The only kinsmen available to this family who can give assistance is a son whose small nuclear family inhabits a BIA trailer in the government compound in Browning. The son, his wife and infant are struggling on a $4,000 per annum income, yet they assist the male's parents with cash whenever possible.

At this point I have discussed thirteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. The fourteenth, another independent nuclear family household, is headed by a 55-year-old male who earns $3,700 per annum, a sum very close to the cut-off point used in Table 23. Next door to this sizable household (eight persons in all) reside a married daughter, her husband and one offspring. Mutual aid is frequent between the households. Male and female in the younger family are fully employed. They are occasionally able to assist the elders with some cash, but generally labor and transportation are given mutually. These households, in their economic dealings with each other, are similar in operation to the household clusters described and analyzed by Robbins (1968a, 1968b), as is the low-income grandparent-grandchild household which provides a dwelling for a married niece, which may also be properly placed in this category. These cases suggest that kinship neighborhoods may be fairly common in Browning. My sample certainly suggests this

602 possibility, as the cases discussed below strongly indicate. I know no
591 household head or his spouse who does not have some closely related kin
592 in or near Browning.

592 Another case further illustrates mutual kin and economic ties.
602 This consists of a male, age 39, who heads a large independent nuclear
476 family. While his income is low--but $2,700 in 1967--he was at the time
[434] engaged in ranching, an undertaking that permitted some economic amenities such as meat for the family larder which is not reflected in cash
[625] income. Presently the man and his family reside in Browning where the
[464] man is employed as a policeman for the Tribe; he and his family live near the man's mother. The mother is the head of a grandparent-grandchild household (only one grandchild). Food, transportation services, and household work are mutual between these households. The male, however, is now able to assist his mother more frequently than in the past.
[128] This is the fifteenth exception to my hypothesis.

[434] One of the remaining three cases is a conjugal pair whose household income is $2,700, which yields a well above average per capita figure. Of the final two cases, one consists of a small nuclear family which receives considerable aid from the female spouse's mother--labor, some cash, and occasionally quarters (in summer). The other resides in Browning within two blocks of the low-income household in which her daughter resides.

592 The eighteenth and final case is a middle-age couple hosting ten
511 offspring and one grandchild. The household income is a meager $3,300 per annum. The hardships facing this family from week to week are

592 consisted of destitute guest families that had been permitted to reside
476 in otherwise vacant dwellings owned by a close friend at no cost. The host families also provided land. The two clusters, consisting of two
592 households each, do not involve intense mutual aid on a scale witnessed
476 among related families, but the formation of such clusters demonstrates
602 that close relationship is not always the major consideration in deciding whether low and unstable families will offer or receive aid from one another. However, I knew of no households in which unrelated families had joined together for mutual or unilateral aid.

592 I also discovered in Browning and in the rural regions that fami-
602 lies with relatively high incomes are reluctant to host their poorer
511 close kin. I was told by several household heads and their spouses that
476 they had worked hard for what they had and felt that they would definitely jeopardize themselves by "giving too much." Generally the younger, higher earners avoid hosting families; as my data have shown for all current samples, only two multiple-families and two household clusters were recorded in which one generation or host family contributed all or nearly all of the income (or a dwelling) in the units. It is mutual need that usually draws families together. This generalization also applies to the Browning "neighborhood kin units" where mutual aid often reaches a level similar to that found among the rural household clusters.

592 and conversely, welfare and leased land income are also smaller in
369 percentages than in the rural area. However, I pointed out that seven
434 households of the 39 interviewed intensively receive almost 50 per cent of the earnings and these households have joint husband-wife earners. The earning in this small number of households strongly affect the percentage of earned income for the entire sample. The have-nots, that is, the majority of the lower or non-earning households, are far down the line in total income.

592 Multiple-family households occur in very sma-l percentages in
596 Browning; only five of 89 households canvassed for household composition
128 were multiple-family in form. This is only slightly above five per cent
369 compared with the 21 per cent in the rural area, a statistically significant difference at the .05 level. However, Browning households with
592 incomes of less than $4,000 per annum are engaged in frequent kin-based
511 economic aid. These households form tiny kin neighborhoods where there
369 is frequent face-to-face contact and exchange of money, labor, and emo-
602 tional support. About 45 per cent of the households in the intensively interviewed sample of 39 were involved in these mutual assistance groups. Those who earn $4,000 or over generally sever economic ties, at least much more so than do the lower income households. These families tend to live to themselves and to place their resources at the disposal of their individual families in a somewhat middle class style.

592 Browning and Heart Butte area demographies are similar. In each,
369 youngsters 21 or younger make up about 60 per cent of the samples, those
128 22 to 64 about 35 per cent, and elders 65 and over between 3 to 5 per

592 relocation and kin unit splintering and recombinations largely coincide
511 with economic solvency and insolvency. Those who obtain steady earnings
182 break from the kin units they formerly had joined with so as to enjoy a relatively brief period of independence in the middle class mold. But many of these, later in their family cycle, will likely host younger close kin to give and receive economic aid when earnings slump, usually around age 50 for the family heads. The cycle of initial family dependence, brief independence, and eventual mutual dependency results from
[178] meager access to resources. Since at least 1921 this has been a common pattern in the rural areas included in this study.

241 In the past (1921), as has been documented, farming conducted on
454 a very modest scale brought together those families with the fewest
592 acres under cultivation to form mutual co-op units for maximum utilization of limited resources. Labor, equipment (such as it was) and harvests were shared by small units which consisted on the average of a little
602 over two families. Usually only closely related families formed the
474 co-ops, a pattern very similar to current multiple-families and land
592 clusters which serve to maximize available low cash income, land and
592 dwellings. In 1921 farming and ranching families with above average
511 resources generally operated without assistance from others. The same
178 pattern prevails today; when families achieve modest earnings they too
474 live to themselves, although they maintain kin contacts and occasionally offer aid.

592 Household population from 1921 to 1966 rose from a median of 4.2
178 to 5.8 in the rural districts examined in this study. This occurred

Political Rallies

177 Preceding the biennial election of tribal councilmen, several
184 campaign meetings were held in Browning and the outlying communities.
666 Candidates of both orientations (65 candidates vied for the thirteen
[643] council seats in 1960) made speeches explaining their stands on political issues and solicited voter support at the polls.

Three such meetings were observed, two in Browning and one at Starr School. It was noticed that while most Browning meetings took place in a central public building, the orientational differences were given tacit recognition by arranging another meeting at one of the Indian homes. Indian-oriented people were most numerous among those attending this meeting.

The attendance at meetings in the outlying communities was proportionate to the composition of the community population; i.e., Starr School and Heart Butte had a larger proportion of Indian-oriented present than at similar meetings at Babb or East Glacier where the population is more balanced, or even largely white in orientation. The political meetings, however, drew interested people from both segments of the reservation population because the issues discussed affected the affairs of all.

[186] All candidates made some allusion to their own Indian identification, i.e., "we Indians," "the white man is after our land
[191] and we Indians must prevent this." Some candidates spoke in English, others in Blackfeet, and the speeches of both were translated into the
[602] other language by an interpreter. The candidates drew upon ties of kinship that might have been overlooked or ignored in the recent past.

People say that if you can get the support of a few key people you can be assured of the "full-blood vote," indicating the belief that kinsmen will vote with their family leaders.

Church Services

People of both orientations attend church services according to individual interests and needs. Leaders of the different denominations actively proselyte among both unaffiliated people and the membership of the other churches. Interest in church attendance appears to follow the patterns indicated in the responses of the members of the probability sample, where only three of the Indian-oriented and four of the white-oriented reported regular church attendance.

Funerals

From reports, funerals were attended by family and friends, and in this context kin ties and the personal characteristics of the deceased were more influential than cultural orientations in decisions as to whether or not to attend.

Rodeos and Sports Events

Rodeos and sports events were occasions for the largest gatherings which included relatively equal attendance and participation by people of both orientations. The rodeo attracted the largest crowds. These were public events open to all and were given wide publicity; the participants were largely local people and were drawn from both orientation groups.

177 184 541 Members of the sample and their friends were seen in attendance at three rodeos held during the summer of 1960. It was possible to conclude that the rodeo appealed to many people and that they turned out on these occasions regardless of cultural orientation.

[602] The informal grouping in the stands and around the grounds appeared to be based on family and friendship ties. Families--parents, children, and grandchildren--sat together. People apart from their families sat with their friends. The cultural orientations appeared to operate in the smaller groupings that made up the larger crowd.

177 184 526 The sports events drew smaller numbers of people than did the rodeos, but the nature of participation and attendance was similar. One such event, an elementary school track meet, appeared particularly noteworthy because it is comparable in many respects to the Easter Egg Hunt described in a later section.

The track and field meet between the Browning and neighborhood elementary schools was an activity in which children participated without regard to the orientation of their families. It was held at Browning, out-of-doors, on a cold, blustery spring day. People of both [602] orientations attended--parents, teachers and track fans. Informal groupings by family and friends were noted here too, but it was a moving crowd and more difficult than the rodeo to assess in terms of informal family and friendship groups.

Social Occasions with Predominant Indian-Oriented Attendance

177 184 571 The social occasions at which it was observed that the participants and spectators were predominantly people of Indian orientation

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

Although production is carefully tended by the agent and the white staff, other aspects of the economy are not so closely under thumb. Exchange is controlled in the conversion of wheat and cattle into cash, but there is some merchandise passing in and out of the reserve as barter with neighbouring Indians and white settlers which escapes agency supervision. Moreover, through management of the Indians' cash accounts the agency partly determines the amount of cash that an Indian may have; yet the manner of spending lies to a great extent beyond the agent's control. Thus only in part is this an agency-controlled system. In general we shall see a white system of production welded onto a system of distribution in itself a modification of the original indigenous system.

The Annual Round

In buffalo days, the first thunder of spring was joyfully anticipated by all as the time when the owners of Medicine Pipes opened the sacred bundles, sang the songs of the thunder bird, and distributed tobacco to all the camp. These ceremonies continue today, but only the older people look forward to them with eagerness. The younger ones are eager for a different reason. In April now annuities from the Blackfoot trust fund are paid. The children are released from school for the day. The Indians who have waited for months flock to towns nearby to buy clothing, groceries, and household articles. Quite a number, seeking variety and better bargains, board the train to Calgary where in small groups they stroll through the stores of the business district or rest on the wooden benches of Chinese restaurants.

A few days later all are back on the reserve, and the spring enterprises begin. Every Indian team of horses and every tractor from the farm instructors' sheds is busy with ploughing and seeding. The frame houses near the cultivated fields bulge with relatives who have come to help. Calves are driven from their winter corrals to join the main herd started on its way to summer pasture lands.

Meanwhile the old people have convened to a secluded site for the Tobacco Dance, and are singing the opening songs of the Beaver Bundles. On a gala day about a week later Indians from all over the reserve come to watch gleefully, while, for instance, the man with buffalo-hoof rattle dances clownishly around the circle. A few listen

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

shops and second-hand stores. One of our interpreters sold a radio to a neighbour to obtain money for gifts at the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance vower's house, when visited before the Sun Dance, was adequately furnished, but afterwards it was nearly empty. Fortunately, it was not necessary to convert all of the furniture into cash; some pieces were directly converted into services at the ceremony.

A second and more frequent means of obtaining money is by soliciting one of those kinsmen who is socially obligated to mutual sharing. This expedient is of limited usefulness in acquiring cash, although almost any relative will share food and some clothing. These reciprocal obligations apply particularly to brothers, brothers-in-law, and age mates. However, if the borrower is poor and the loaner wealthy, repayment is not expected. Control over asking too frequently for assistance is the Blackfoot emphasis on the virtue of giving rather than receiving. Just as a middle-class white, failing to return his social invitations, would find himself ignored, so Blackfoot failure to reciprocate gifts means loss of prestige; and gifts, like white parties, are most frequent among equals in status.

As a result of all this scarcity, currency has increased in value. At ceremonies a dollar in currency is considered the equivalent of a blanket worth several times that amount in a local store. As previously mentioned, only one Blackfoot farmer pays regular cash wages to his employees, the remainder making only occasional and irregular payments. Part of the willingness of Indians to act as informants may be attributed to the desire for cash.

Two systems of transaction result from the scarcity of money. Cash is used mainly for transactions with whites and seldom passes from one Blackfoot to another. Within the reserve, however, all transferable property circulates; horses, articles of furniture, clothing, and bedding move about fairly freely on the reserve and to Indians of neighbouring reserves as well. This is a continuation and extension of the pre-reserve economy, for which there were many possible means of distribution. There is little development of production to satisfy the demands of this internal economy. Alone of Blackfoot products horses are of value here, but the horse raisers tend to prefer to change horses into cash rather than into sacred objects or other items of intra-reserve value.

As we shall more clearly in our study of distribution, the flow of chattels through the reserve is not a lively one. The most valuable assets that a man has come from the agency via trust funds and are non-transferable. Thus it is usually the smaller and less valuable

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

which he raised and trained to the saddle. He had three men more or less constantly with him. They and their wives were provided with meals, lodging, spending money, and the use of horses. In addition he provided for five old people who had no other means of support. They lived in houses near him, were given occasional blankets and clothing, accompanied him when he went to the Sun Dance or the Tobacco Dance, where they lived in his tipi and were given, when occasion demanded, groceries over and above the rations. While their grandsons drove the horses into the corral, these old dependents passed the afternoon swapping stories with Boy Chief. We estimate that on the reserve there are five such systems of economic flow centring about an entrepreneur.

These entrepreneurs may be considered the lingering exemplifications of the old band system. Like them the old band chiefs would provide a source of income for their bands: it might be harvesting with hay, planting gardens, running a ferry, or extracting coal. To the band chief came young men who performed the main tasks involved in return for their keep and, when necessary, for the clothing and feeding of their relatives. With the advent of the farms and the scattering of people over the reserve, these bands dissipated, so that the system persists today only in a few cases, though it continues as an ideal for many entrepreneurs. The band is now almost a meaningless concept to those under thirty; it is solely a named section in the brief annual circle camp where an individual sets his tent. The function of the band as a distributive system has been assumed by the family. It assumes a characteristic pattern when the head of a prosperous family has his circle of dependent relatives who furnish him a market for generosity in return for homage. This function of the family differs from that of the entrepreneurs in that the entrepreneur may provide for persons outside the family group. The main trend today is away from the entrepreneur system towards having each family care for its own members.

In addition to providing for its indigents, the family contains a system of relationships to its own members that makes for distribution. We need not describe here in detail the Blackfoot kinship system[1] with its various obligations, but a few examples will illustrate. We have already noted that kinship may be a prerequisite for one Indian to hire another. A haying gang consists frequently of a man with horses and wagons helped by his younger brothers,

[1]For analysis of the Blackfoot kinship system, cf. L. M. Hanks, Jr. and Jane Richardson, "Blackfoot Kinship," American Ethnological Society, Monograph IX, 1945.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

602 brothers-in-law, and sons. One's generosity is shown by fine gifts
43 to a father-in-law and a mother-in-law, and by treating one's younger
466 brother in school to a movie. Wives buy things not only for their
children but for their sisters' children. A man invites his brother-
602 in-law to dine at a Chinese restaurant. All of these cases reveal
431 segments of the intra-familial system of circulating wealth.

To estimate the amount of wealth per year passing through the family is difficult. Part of the groceries, clothing, and household expenses passes through this channel. More than half of the gifts that are made go to relatives. In terms of volume the family is probably the most important distributive mechanism on the reserve, even more important than the agency.

593 Near extinction, though not completely dead, is the institution
858 of the favoured child (*mini.puka*) which centres about the family.
431 Horses and blankets were given out lavishly in the name of the child. A wealthy father rewarded many times over the giver of a gift to his favourite child. A trifling object such as a bell might in the past be rewarded with a horse or a suit of buckskin clothing. Thus the favoured child institution was a special aspect of distribution where generosity was reciprocated by generosity without possibility of
593 comparable return. Though there are many who have been favoured
858 children in the past, only two children have that status today. The
177 schools are blamed for this because the children are taken away from their parents. The children themselves, caught in the set of values established by the school, no longer seek the favours that Indian parents give. A lad who has spent twelve years under Anglican or Roman Catholic influence finds it difficult to appreciate the gift of a Medicine Pipe and asks to be spared the honour.

585 Marriage may constitute a mechanism of distribution, if one of
431 the Blackfoot patterns is followed. Of three first marriages observed, one followed this pattern. The main feature is an exchange of presents between the two contracting families. The bride's family in a recent marriage gave eight horses which they had collected from various relatives. The groom's family, obligated to an equal return gift, could only collect six horses; accordingly a "democrat" and a wardrobe were thrown in. As far as possible those relatives who contributed are given something in return; the immediate family must go without in case of inadequate return gift, while the more distant relatives receive in proportion to their contributions. Among

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

which the produce was distributed. Within these groups also were specialists in native skills such as porcupine quilling, tipi cutting, catching eagles, and curing the sick. For a suitable return the service of one of these specialists could be obtained. Recreation took the form of a hoop and dart game, horse races, ceremonial rites and dances, all involving mainly members of the local group. Mutual obligations of care and shelter were based on real or putative kinship. A widow contributed her talents to the household of a son, daughter, brother or sister in return for food and shelter. Grandparents might bring up an orphan as one of their own. Though the source of many commodities was already the trading post or the agency, the group worked together and shared in common.

Under contemporary conditions a few of these features remain. The medicine-man continues but the other specialists have disappeared. Recreational groups are made up of people who by chance happen to be in a given locality at a particular time, like the workers at the coal-mines or the haying camps. The stampedes, the Owl Dances, the hockey games, the residual age societies and the occasional religious rite are tribal in scope, attracting interested persons from all the reserve. A reduced kinship group alone preserves most of its functions with its obligations of co-operation and sharing. In many respects the reserve residents are thus more unified than ever before, but in earning and sharing they are more divided.

To the officially recognized family of husband, wife, and children go the returns from cattle, wheat, wages, and annuities. Yet many obligations between generations, siblings, and in-laws remain intact and serve as the main channels of distribution. Though the permanent obligations to a wide group of kinsmen are fewer, the social structure continues in keeping with altered conditions. Today the size of the kinship group is partially limited by the geographical distribution of houses, but a more important factor is the generally increased and better distributed wealth. The Blackfoot are neither so poor nor so well-off as formerly; the range of wealth is narrowed. While there are fewer indigents, at the same time fewer are able to support many indigents. By and large the agency has assumed the care of what indigents there are. In many cases an elderly person lives with a biological family; other families have adopted children. But despite the contribution of more rations and annuities, only a small per cent of the total can afford to maintain many dependents over an indefinite period of time in the old way. Nevertheless, when

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

Despite greater social contact than formerly between various sectors of the reserve, the general picture is one of biological families looking to the agency for income and distributing it within a reduced circle of kinsmen. Life within these units has become more stabilized and old incentives have decreased in effectiveness.

(3) After the victory of the older generation in its fight for the issue of rations, the younger generations find them merely a contribution to their meals. Under the influence of restaurants, stores, and boarding-schools, food habits have changed. Retail stores have inevitably become the main source of any dietary supplement to the rations, mostly canned foods and bread. The same trends have occurred with clothing, for dungarees, underwear, shirts, and overcoats are the common costume of men. Even the conservative women must first buy their yardages of printed calico before making them into dresses. All except the old and discouraged now sense a need for curtains, cabinets, kitchen tables, and linoleum rugs, items which are not included in the basic agency issues to the newly married. Maintaining a household has become unalterably dependent upon the white economy.

Maintenance services increase this dependence. The Gleichen mechanics and blacksmiths repair Indian cars and farm equipment, sewing machines, radios, and mechanical washers. The dentist extracts their teeth and orders plates for them. Being human, some Blackfoot undervalue the free medical services at their hospital and prefer to patronize, and pay, village doctors and pharmacists. Recreation at the pool halls and the movies, the cup of tea and the sandwich at the Chinese restaurant, the occasional trip to Calgary on the railway, all show further dependence on the white economy. Indeed, as a consumer the average Blackfoot differs little from the white farmers and villagers that surround the reserve.

Certain basic attitudes of a market economy have crept in. The virtue of exhibitionistic generosity has decreased in value, and the virtue, formerly soft-pedalled, of sagacity with property (*sikinapsi*, a shrewd person) has gained. This attitude is supported by the shortage of cash for making necessary purchases and in turn supports the trend towards a narrower definition of obligation to kinsmen. An elderly man who had purchased a medicine bundle was openly criticized by his sons and grandchildren for incurring needless expenses, since the owner of this bundle was expected to hold periodic feasts and give-aways, and with living now geared to the white economy, this was hard to do. A generation ago ownership of this

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

same bundle would have been considered a valuable asset in the competition for exhibition of generosity, to say nothing of its supernatural benefits, and the possessor would have been aided by the pooled resources of his large circle of kinfolk.

Yet there remain significant differences between white and Indian consumers. Of low status in terms of skills which they can contribute, their returns are less and their share proportionately smaller. Few Indians have been able to alter their lot through education, even if they normally could expect employment of their skills off the reserve. In capital assets, they are paupers, for property of value in the white economy is usually theirs only for use and not for disposal. As participants in the white world they would be living without opportunity for social advance on the bottom rung, with inadequate diet, the cheapest of clothing, and the most dismal of houses to rent.

This impoverishment not only occurred through dependence on the white economy, but dependence redefined wealth itself. Starting from a period when wealth was viewed in terms of horses transferable between all Indians, it became increasingly necessary to deal with whites. In these dealings the Indian pony quickly lost its value. Later barter took place, but gradually transactions were restricted to a currency basis. Now only the agency converts certain defined commodities into cash. With conversion rates determined by the agent and the world market, Indian labour and produce achieve value for the white economy. In some respects the rate of conversion is the same for Indian and white, yet in others, e.g. wages, seeking to accomplish the most with limited operating funds, the agency has set conversion at a lower rate than the one found off the reserve.

While the trust funds help mitigate some of the discrepancies between the two worlds, the Blackfoot are still far from possessing certain key advantages of the white citizen. On the reserve there is little freedom or encouragement of enterprise. Skills of value in the white economy are fostered to a point, but their development as an enterprise is minimal. The possibility of loans from the trust fund has not been realized, probably because individuals have not enough private property to offer as security to make the loan acceptable to Ottawa. Certainly banks and credit houses are excluded since the property of these wards is inalienable. Moreover, the emphasis given by the agency and the council of chiefs has been on collective advancement rather than on using the trust funds to

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

ones. If, besides, he showed such other attributes of leadership as competence in economic planning, and ability to maintain reasonable order, and was not in these aspects excelled by another within his group, such an individual would gradually acquire a following which regarded him as their band chief. This involved no formal decision by the group, merely the building and maintaining of status as chief through generosity, courage, and wisdom. Large bands had two or more chiefs, each with a group of more or less constant followers. Blackfoot theory stated that any person might camp with any chief. In practice, each group comprised a stable core of close relatives of the chief, his brother, sister's husband, son-in-law, and often his son. In addition there was a circle of less immediate relatives by blood or marriage, such as son's father-in-law, brother's wife's sister's husband, and any member's cherished age-mate of no traceable relationship. On this level, a man or his wife was almost always related somehow to several chiefs. A person exploited his kin relationships to his own advantage, and if ever the authority of his chief became obnoxious or he saw better advantage elsewhere, he moved away to assume membership among another chief's following. There appears to have been a number of families who changed band affiliation from time to time. Thus chiefly jurisdiction was over voluntary followers who had the right to move away from burdensome authority whenever they wished. When the entire tribe assembled, the chiefs watched over their respective followings, yet constituted an informal council for matters affecting their collective existence. As the relative prestige of the men in the council of band chiefs and their areas of jurisdiction were well known to all, conflict over authority seldom arose.

We have noted the particular difficulties at the signing of the Blackfoot Treaty. At that time the Dominion government expected or hoped that all the important chiefs of the tribe would sign, and had prepared big silver medals to be issued to each one. However, a number of chiefs refused to subscribe to the treaty and never received medals. Naturally, in Blackfoot eyes this in no way diminished their chiefly status and actually may have enhanced it somewhat. Some of the minor chiefs who signed and received medals were catapulted by the whites into positions much more honorific than they merited. Worst of all, when ordinary men were occasionally designated as chiefs by white officials, there arose the opprobrious epithet, "white chief," in contrast to a "real chief" who had

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

643 622 and one head chief in addition to the agent and the agency interpreter. Since most of the meetings are open sessions, a variety of tribal members also packs into the small room. The agenda is usually prepared by the agent, questions being considered under more or less democratic rules of order. Discussion is condensed into a proposal of action, the action voted upon, though every measure is then subject to veto by the officials of the Indian Affairs Branch.[1]

Becoming a Chief

622 After settling on the reserve economically energetic men with or without a war record became the nominal chiefs, and this pattern has persisted despite the scattering of persons over the reserve. In the old days the chief cared permanently for an entire set of kinsmen or related families besides his own. The five wealthy entrepreneurs exemplify today this type of chieftainship, but such chiefs are not necessarily recognized by the agency and have authority only over their group of followers, an authority based mainly on kinship obligations.[2] The change in mode of living has, however, added a new chiefly role. The modern elected chief has in comparison few specific followers. Under his own roof he may have only his own wife and [602] children. On the basis of kinship obligations he must still provide for younger brothers, brothers-in-law, newly married sons, and other kinsmen should they request help, but this help is temporary until they can provide for themselves. Yet the elected chief must now aid in minor ways any person who comes with a demand, whether it be a mere matter of advice or a request for money to purchase goods at the village store. These persons are not economically dependent on him and have few, if any, obligations in return. Perhaps his most important function is indirect assistance to the whole reserve population, for which he tries to obtain higher wages, procure greater returns for produce, see that new equipment is given to needy persons, and devise means to overcome the current irritation whatever it may be. Thus the old pattern hinging on the chief's ability to provide for his followers has been modified into a role of good neighbour, counsellor, and planner for the welfare of the reserve as a whole.

The few entrepreneurs have little importance as chiefs unless they are also elected chiefs. Though they are sometimes figures in ceremonial ways and may have considerable informal influence, they tend to live apart from political life. The elected chiefs exert the

[1] *Ibid.*, Secs. 100, 101.
[2] Cf. pp. 86-87.

A [See category 621 for these pages--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

622 178 433 [829] [464] [735] longer directors of their followers, sole dispensers of benefits, or autonomous authorities within their circle of followers. These functions have largely disappeared with the new agency-managed economy. A director is no longer needed where people work independently and scattered over the reserve. As men have their own fields to tend, they are too busy to seek employment as members of a chief's haying gang. Jobs for earning cash are given out directly by the agency or the farm instructors. Today a chief may have to round up his own horses before going to town, for the young "hired men" are busy elsewhere. Now that others have wealth equal or surpassing the chief's, there are many capable of helping the poor. Indeed, because of the broader distribution of wealth, there are few who correspond to the tattered, hungry persons of buffalo days. Without his followers at his side, the chief's influence as arbitrator and keeper of the peace has been limited. Roads are better, people more accessible, and the agency influence reaches into every corner of the reserve.

622 643 178 Another aspect of the old pattern leading to confusion is the question of a chief's jurisdiction. In theory the elective system of today implies a council made up of members chosen from the reserve at large with all chiefs accessible to every man. To some extent this occurs, for certain chiefs are consulted by a wide number of persons on the reserve. There is a lingering feeling, nevertheless, that each chief represents a certain group in the council of chiefs, just as the council of chiefs in buffalo days was made up of the leaders of [602] separate bands. Frequently persons criticize all the chiefs except one, and will brook no criticism of that one from any quarter. Behind this usually lies a kin relationship to a particular chief; one is defending one's relative to whom one appeals in difficulties. In fact kinship is still the strongest factor binding a group of "constituent-followers" to a particular chief. There are also cases where a man may identify himself with a traditional band. If the head of this nominal band is a council member, he constitutes the man's chief. Geographical nearness, even unsupported by kinship or band affiliation, can reinforce identification with a certain chief. The system [666] of electing chiefs on such a background leads to difficulties. Votes are cast frequently along family (the most important factor), band, and geographical lines, and failure of a candidate to be elected may leave a given group with the feeling of being without representation in the council. Instead of looking out for the welfare of all, certain

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

657 643 622 Such events confirm the agent's belief that the Blackfoot will not be ready for many years to accept greater responsibility in controlling their own destiny.

Actually the example reveals also a more fundamental conflict. The failure of a geographical principle of representation by chiefs is misconstrued by the agent as shunning a responsibility. Chiefly jurisdiction is nebulous, but it is traditional that chiefs in any case represent kinsmen and that followers of chiefs are usually kinsmen, no matter how scattered. Indeed, a man may go miles to air his problems to a kinsman who is chief rather than confide in a more accessible chief who lives in the neighbourhood. It is not surprising, therefore, that the principle of geographical representation still succumbs to the traditional principle of kin representation. It is interesting that by the latter device the Anglo-Saxon problem of distinguishing between duty and personal interests, which include the family, and status obligations, does not occur since a chief conceives it as part of his duty to care for his relatives. Thus in this case there need be no impugning of Blackfoot chiefs, if judged in the light of their own definition of responsibilities.

657 The resultant of these policies has been, first and foremost, a continuous unresolved dispute between the tribe and the agency over uses of the trust fund. The Blackfoot regard the trust fund as their own money, while the agency feels obligated to prevent its control by Indians for fear of unsagacious use. Attempts by Blackfoot to achieve greater control are resisted by the agent with legal reinforcement. This in turn produces indignation and conniving on the part of the tribe with the result that agency feelings about Indian immaturity are confirmed.

Secondly, those measures which have been accepted by the agency at the suggestion of the council and have become a part of reserve practice have tended to make the Indians more dependent on the trust fund. Besides the various relief measures, agency management of the cattle herd, cash jobs given out by the agency staff, and material assistance to new farmers have contributed to create [433] a social group that is highly dependent on the trust fund. Few Indians leave the reserve for work in normal years (though white prejudice is also a factor); there is little Indian commercial enterprise; some Indians say that those who have married into the Blackfoot tribe, for instance the coal miners, do more of the work than the Blackfoot.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

According to this practice the two must co-operate, though authority is vested in the elder, especially if he is the wife's brother.[1] In case of dissatisfaction the younger is free to move to another more generous person.

As adjacent land becomes available, the younger may apply to the agent for these fields in order that he himself, having learned the techniques of farming, may become self-sufficient. The location of houses in small clusters of three and four at mile intervals along many of the reserve roads provides opportunity for groups of relatives and in-laws to live adjacently. Having been granted occupancy of a neighbouring house, the junior family may move there. Obligation of mutual help continues, though there is greater independence than formerly. Mutual help on the fields of one's relatives may be expected, and there will be exchanges of gifts, though no actual division of income.

Expanding such groups still further are the older people who frequently come to live in the same house with or in a house near to their children. Kinship obligations require caring for the indigent, as we have noted previously.[2] The practice of "bringing up" children of relatives adds further potential members to the original family. This practice is distinct from adoptions where the foster parents conceal the fact of adoption from the child. In "bringing up" a child, a middle-aged man and his wife merely take a grandchild to live with them. Having brought up a family themselves and having a "vacant" house with the unmarried children away in boarding-school, many people feel lonely and ask their relatives for children. These children then live with and are supported by their grandparents, though they frequently spend several days or weeks with their own parents also. Both "bringing up" a child and adoption occur with considerable frequency.

Thus the individual family is variously expanded on the reserve today by the addition of siblings, certain in-laws, the aged, and children. Numerous clusters of houses show such patterns of relationships. In one of a group of four houses lives an old widow with her grandchildren whom she is "bringing up" for her son-in-law. Next to her lives her sister's son and his family; by Blackfoot reckoning this man is her "son." Across the road, a stone's throw away, live her true son and his children, one of whom is married

[1] Cf. p. 72.
[2] Cf. p. 86.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

and resides there with his wife. The occupant of the fourth house is called "younger sibling" by the old lady because he was raised by a co-wife of the old lady's mother. Such clusters of relatives are frequent throughout the reserve.

In these groups considerable mutual help exists. At harvest all able-bodied males and females may turn out. One person often obtains the weekly rations for the entire group of households, and on trips to town members of any household may ride in the wagon. As in the individual household the eldest male or female is the final authority in matters of common concern, though usually a senior woman returns the decision after its having been submitted to her, by saying to the eldest male, "It's up to you." When one of the extended family receives a good return from his crop of beef cattle, he is expected to share it with his relatives as gifts and food. Many visitors come on such occasions and should be given meat, blankets, money, or horses. Although in proportion to the individual's total income the amount of these gifts is smaller today than formerly, the importance of these obligations continues.

It should be borne in mind that there is comparatively little group stability, for change of residence is frequent. Many households have two residences, one for summer and another for winter. The summer residences, built at trust fund expense, were intended originally to be permanent, but the lack of insulation makes them unsatisfactory at low temperatures with high winds. Many have built cabins in the valley of the Bow River where shelter and access to water are more adequate. In this case the summer grouping of relatives may differ from the winter grouping, though both groupings are usually based on kinship. A young married couple lived with the husband's brother-in-law on the farm during the summer but with the husband's parents on the river bank during the winter.

Besides this seasonal change of residence, the character of employment may justify additional migration. In the winter many households are attracted to the mines. In spring and summer, work on the farms and later haying, not to mention the Sun Dance and the Tobacco Dance, may mean that some households reside not more than a few weeks in one place. Even then, however, kinship serves as the bond for determining where one shall camp. A man may live in his older brother's house during seeding, camp next to

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

his father-in-law at the Tobacco Dance, occupy a bed in his father's tipi at the Sun Dance, live with an age-mate at the Calgary Stampede, and harvest hay with his brother-in-law. 361 602

Sociability may be another reason for moving. Thus many households pitch a tent at the mine in winter though no pay is received from mining. These people merely enjoy living in a centre of activity; certainly no one wants to be isolated on the snow-swept prairie. Not infrequently a relative may be seen camping outside a farm house for several days, his only grounds for living there being sociability.

This presents a picture of self-interested migration by individual households with any kinship affiliation serving as a liaison. There are many exceptions, however, where a stable cluster of relatives forms the centre of the extended family. Even in buffalo days there was a fringe of impermanently attached tipis with every band. The greater the wealth and generosity of a relative, the more stable and large is his extended family. At the upper limit on a continuum of stability it is possible to cite half a dozen extended families that reside together almost continuously throughout the year.[1] The members of this group would describe the situation by saying, "I camp with Boy Chief." Near the mean of stability are persons with less wealth and generosity whose relatives come and go for various reasons but return frequently. Such a central figure may be an old, respected man of wisdom or a younger farmer with habits of industry. With these people one is apt to hear a longer and qualified description of peregrinations: "I live with my father but go up west to my older brother's place on the farm during the summer. My older brother usually comes down here to camp in the winter time, too." Here is a statement that implies loyalty to a respected old man who cannot provide for his sons economically. On the lower extreme of the continuum are the poor and isolated who in some manner have behaved so as to cut themselves off from their kinfolk. They move to and fro camping where they may, or still more miserably, living friendless in a house exposed to the weather. There are very few of these. 596 [361]

Solidarity within the extended family is gained by such events of common interest as a marriage. In conservative Indian circles the woman's kinsmen select the spouse, whose kin are approached 584

[1]Cf. p. 86.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

584 through an intermediary. After consent the two extended families
585 accumulate gifts for an exchange, all relatives who are able being expected to contribute. In former times this exchange occurred simultaneously with the moving of the bride to the camp of the groom's family. Now the Christian wedding service and a dance with food provided by the wealthier of the contracting families may be added before the bride moves to her new residence.

584 Today individual choice of spouse is more frequent, and the
602 *extended circle of relatives plays a secondary role. Young men in* school, after an acquaintance of varying duration, propose marriage; traditionally the girl is expected to open negotiations, though this does not always occur. If a girl is closely attached to her kinsmen, their consent will be sought, but often the relatives know only of the
584 accomplished fact. The immediate control of choice today, as a matter of fact, rests with the head-master or matron of the mission
[657] school. Their authority may be reinforced by the police or the agent. Inasmuch as the agent can allocate rations and the special marriage benefits of the trust fund, his sanction could carry considerable
[602] weight, but we have no cases of agency disapproval.[1] The approval of the match by at least one kinsman is of course imperative, for no young man is apt to have a residence to which he may bring his
585 bride, nor would she like to set up housekeeping alone at first. With minimum approval by the school authority and a single established relative, the marriage becomes official through a Christian service
[431] performed for a group of young couples in the church. A marriage that is unsanctioned by relatives may become acceptable later through strategically given gifts.

586 In case of an intolerable match relatives may be able to persuade the objectionable spouse to leave, or their kinsman to give him or her up. Marriage has seldom been so sacred a contract that it could not be terminated, were sufficient pressure brought to bear by relatives. Here again the agency and the council of chiefs may collab-
583 orate in maintaining or dissolving a match. Such a case in the
586 extreme is the following:

762 A respected man with wife and family eloped with a widow who was reported
626 to have seduced him. As is typical for women, she was assumed to have taken the initiative in this situation. The agent, chiefs, and interested friends beseeched the man to return to his former wife. The man paid no attention.

[1]This power over rations in the hands of the agent is a tremendous potential for coercion, and we are happy that no recent cases of its use for this end were brought to our attention. On the contrary, penniless Indians from other reserves have often received temporary help by being issued provisions from the Blackfoot larder.

When this pressure was unavailing, the two were shunned by all. After several months together, the two quarrelled among themselves over suspected unfaithfulness. They separated, and the man committed suicide after leaving behind notes addressed to his first wife. The woman later remarried, though to a man of lower status than herself, and by exemplary behavior and even some show of submissiveness has lived down much of the scandal.

Here all pressure failed to dissolve the match, even ostracism. When the microcosm itself collapsed, there were no other face-saving alternatives for the man than suicide, and suicide under any circumstances is very rare. Usually the agency policy is laissez-faire with respect to marital affairs, and the foregoing case shows that the maximum persuasion came from relatives and other Indians who "cut" them socially. The agency is more often invoked to untangle the conflicting claims on property between the offended and the offending parties after separation. Here the council of chiefs is particularly useful in advising the agent as to Blackfoot practice and sentiment.

Although we have no substantiating statistics, the frequency of separation seems higher today than in former times. There are few Blackfoot who have not separated and remarried at least once, more often four or five times. "Stealing" of wives or husbands, i.e., infidelity, is a frequent accusation, and the resultant jealousy becomes the cause for most separations. In the past a husband's suspicion of unfaithfulness led to brutal treatment of his wife, such as nose-cutting, society "rape" fests, or his sending her away. Of late such jealousy seems to have increased, particularly since women as well as men are today considered capable of jealousy. The offended spouse either departs or sends the offender away, if the latter has not already eloped. This probably means the termination of two marriages, that of the co-respondent and that of the unfaithful woman. As a result, conflicting claims for horses, wagons, and household furnishings between these parties arise, and settlement becomes a delicate problem for the agent and the council of chiefs.

The causes for the increased fragility of marriage bonds lie in the many social changes that have occurred since settling on the reserve. First, we note an increased proportion of males to females, after the cessation of wars. Seduction has long been considered an unofficial male *coup*, and as this feeling has not diminished, and people live in greater proximity, opportunities for illicit affairs are greater today. In the second place, the punishment meted out by the offended husband has decreased in severity in the light of white disapproval of mutilation.

Who My Grandmothers Are

MY OWN GRANDMA, AnadaAki, was born in a tipi during the eighteen eighties. She has come a long way to her present place in life, which includes being the family elder as well as being a devoted fan of the TV serial "As the World Turns." If you heard her British-accented voice calling out for someone to turn on the TV you would not imagine that she was raised in the household of one of the last great medicine men among the Bloods.

AnadaAki means Pretty Woman in our language. It is the name that she has carried longest. When she entered school she became known as Hilda Heavy Head, and when she married my grandfather she became Hilda Beebe. After my grandfather died, she remarried and became known as Hilda Strangling Wolf. To top off this name-changing, her real father's name was Joseph Trollinger, a German name which she never carried.

Grandma AnadaAki has spent a lot of her recent years in the home of my parents, although I think she would rather still have her own household. Because my father's mother died when when he was still a small boy, AnadaAki is the only one of my real grandmothers that I ever met. But among

602 the Indian people relationships are much more generalized
601 than among many others. For instance, all my female relatives of AnadaAki's age are my grandmothers, as well as some who are younger. Also, all the women of my tribe who lived long ago are spoken of as grandmothers. In addition, it is common for any old woman in the tribe, when speaking kindly, to call any young woman or girl "my grandaughter." So the title of my book actually refers to the ways of the women of my tribe, not just to the mothers of my parents.

551 AnadaAki's mother was named First-to-Kill by an old warrior who had once accomplished that distinction in battle. First-to-Kill had a brother named Sweetgrass, and the two were raised during the buffalo days. When she grew up she married Joe Trollinger, who had arrived among the Bloods from Germany. She became known as Lucy Trollinger and, with her husband, she helped run a restaurant and hotel on the wagon road between the Blood Reserve and the later city of Calgary, which was then a fort and trading post. The Bloods named her husband Last-to-Get-Angry, because his favorite expression was: "You got angry first, now I'm going to get angry." Travelers nicknamed him Rutabaga Joe because he had such a fondness for that vegetable.

586 Joe and Lucy had five children together, and four of them lived past the age of ninety. AnadaAki was the youngest, and the only one who didn't see her father. Her eldest sister was deaf and dumb, but when Lucy found out that Joe was going to take her to Germany for treatment she packed up all the kids and moved back among the Bloods. Shortly afterward she married a young warrior named Heavy Head, who took the kids as his own. He and Lucy had no more children, but
177 AnadaAki was born shortly after they got together. In spite of her full Blood upbringing, I can say that my grandma definitely has ways and characteristics that are more commonly considered German than Blood. Blue eyes are another sign of her European ancestry.

606 food for us. She would just call us from outside and say: "Here is something already cooked, for you to eat." That was the old custom. Or she would tell me to come by her tipi later
● 602 in the day. When I had time I would go over there and she would have a new pair of beaded moccasins for my father-in-law. That was another custom, that the wife's mother made moccasins for the husband's father. When I went to get them I couldn't stay and visit long, because back then it was considered improper for me to be anywhere for long besides my own household. In those days respectful women were not seen idle around the camps, visiting and talking.

831 There were some women in my younger days who were well
848 known for their loose ways. They were usually older women, past my own age group. Often they were divorced or widowed. The people had various expressions for them. They would say: "She has a light child" (fathered by someone in town) or "She has been gotten between," or "This one has a white father." Women like this usually kept to themselves, because their friends would be ashamed of them. In my young time we didn't really know much about this, we just heard about it. We didn't know the details for ourselves except as rumors. Nowadays nobody thinks much about this same kind of behavior, because it goes on so much. That is one of the signs of how much life has changed in my time.

THE TIME THE NUNS BROUGHT US TO THE SUN DANCE

by Paula Weasel Head

796 This happened when my sister and I were still quite young, and we were students at the boarding school. It was summertime and the people were camped at the Sun Dance grounds. We were all wanting to go there. I was terribly lonesome for my father, who was camping there too.

159
Lighter's Staff, and the Blackfoot Rider's Staff. 852
[George only painted for some of these Bundles.] 778

In one day I took four Medicine hats. My face 425
was painted and wiped and then repainted again, [302]
four times, as I went through four ceremonies in one day. [He means that when he was young, four different Medicine headdresses were transferred to him in one day. Thus, his parents spoiled [855]
their only child in a socially acceptable way.]

My father's name was Dog Child. My mother's name was The Only Handsome Woman; her other name was Catching Another Horse, but she was never called by that name. She was one of three sisters, and her mother said she was the only handsome woman. So that became her name. My father's name used to be Singing Amongst, but he changed that. My name was given to me from the war deeds of my uncle, Striped Wolf. He was the first one to ride a horse taken from the enemy. So I got the name First Rider. I didn't have the same name with my father. [Most of our People today carry the names of former relatives as their inherited family names. But they also have one or more personal, Indian names by which they are referred to in the Blackfoot language.] 551 553 159

159
I was born with long hair. My mother used 856
Indian perfume—boiled cedar needles—to wet [302]
my hair. That is why I got long hair.

I must have been about five years old when I [824]
was able to go riding on my own.

159
When I was a little boy I was taken to the [857]
Holy Lodge. I had two grandmothers [older female [852]
relatives, not necessarily biological grandmothers]. [602]
They each one gave me a Sun Dance necklace, [431]
my childhood property. I must have been eight years old when a horned Medicine headdress was given to me.

When I was thirteen years old I started riding 883
racehorses. I was sixteen years old when I started 526
to learn bronc riding. But soon my father made 159
me quit. He said, "There is no future in it. It is [829]
the white man's life. An Indian will compete in a

ferent cans of grub and really had a banquet. All we had been eating was dried meat. After we ate, we decided that it would be a good time to sing some songs and pray for success on the rest of the trip. This was a customary thing to do when nearing enemy camps on a war raid. 726 [262]

Each of us prayed and sang our special good-luck song. Young Pine started out by singing: "If we are married or single, a woman always waits for us when we go on a war party, and she makes us think about her while we are gone. She gives us a good-luck charm to carry and a song to sing." 726 533 [782] [777]

My own song had these words in it: "Last Gun, if I never see you again, I will do nothing but cry all day long."

Because we were far from our home, we all decided to add to our good luck by taking on new names that belonged to some relative of ours. I took my uncle's second name, Everyone Talks About. Young Pine took the name Fine Young Man. Calf Robe took his brother's name, One Spot. Crazy Crow took the name Looks-like-a-Coyote. Prairie Chicken Old Man took the name Many Mules. 727 553 [551]

We stayed in our victory camp all that night and decided to travel in the daytime. We saw a lone antelope some way ahead of us. I took a long shot at the animal and knocked it down. It tried to run but was wounded in one leg. Calf Robe chased it and killed it with a knife. We took the antelope up on a hill to eat and dry some of the meat. We had lots of tobacco from our recent raid, but we had no pipe to smoke it in. Young Pine was the only one who brought a pipe along, but he had left it at an earlier camp. We cut up one of the leg bones from the antelope and made a good stem out of it; then we made a bowl by shaping some clay and baking it in our fire. [224] [411] [276] [321] [323] [237]

The first horse we stole on this trip was a sorrel that belonged to some traders at a place called Wide-Leafed Bush, in the Missouri River Valley. Years before, these same traders killed one of my stepfather's earlier wives. She would have [602]

142
302
301

Calf Robe. The rawhide rope is for horse raiding. [283]
(Glacier Studio) [237]

---

been my mother in the Old Way. Her name was 726
Sharp Ears, and she was shot with a bullet in- [602]
tended for my stepfather, who was trying to run the traders out for selling whiskey to his People. I stole the horse from them in revenge for that murder. The other fellows got angry at me for stealing a horse from white people. They said that the U.S. Army might come after us now. [Horses stolen from such people could usually be identified by their brands.]

When we got to a place called Snake Nose [578]
Butte, our party split up because of an argument. We never did decide who was our leader, al-

[p. 292-A]

585 [431] *me some. Then she gave me the rawhide container to put my toys in.*

I got very lonesome after I was there for three days. There was a lump in my throat. I
585 593 *wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of my father, because I loved him the most. A per-*
[152] *son asked me, "What is the matter with you?" I told her, "My necklaces are too tight, that is why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She knew that I was lonesome and longing for my parents. She said, "Both of you will go down, you will go to see your mother." I was anxious to go, so we went.*

When we came to the top of the ridge I saw my home down in the valley. I was really happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad to see him. We slept there, and in the morning we started coming westward.

593 592 602 *After two years, the mother of the one that I married went up west. . . . I proved myself, and now what kind of fingers I have for all the work I did? I started cooking right then. I was nine years old when she went up west, and the other mother of my husband, his real mother's sister, she was very mean to me. That is why I am not mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman was very mean to me. I used to carry two big buckets of water, and she never fed me any bread. Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread and I went to bed with it and ate it. My husband used to get mad at me because the crumbs were all over the bed. There, I told you the story plainly, just the way I know about my marriage.*

Mrs. Wadsworth and her husband took an
778 425 active part in the Old Ways of our People. For several years they had the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. The Pipe was transferred to them while they were living on the land east of Stand Off. The ceremony was held inside of the Upside-Down-Buffalo-Head Tipi, which was given to them by old Shot-on-Both-Sides. Natosina helped with the pipe transfer. He sang the songs for them to wake us by. [P.341-A]

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

sense and have it transferred with the ritual even though she has not been true to her husband. We are reminded that Scabby-round-robe's wife[1] was not true to her former husband and that when her husband received a beaver bundle there went with it a natoas and accessories; but that while she could use them by virtue of her relation to a beaver bundle, she was not competent to make a vow and initiate a sun dance.[2] This is consistent with the tradition that the natoas was once bought from a beaver bundle by a woman who gave the sun dance for that year and used instead of a wreath of juniper as in former ceremonies. It also throws some light on the relation of the natoas to the beaver and the sun dance rituals.

Ceremony of the Tongues.

While it is obvious from the preceding, that the medicine woman takes her vow at no fixed period in the year, the order of procedure is such that as a rule, she must have taken her vow not later than the spring of the year in which the sun dance occurs. There is no absolute prohibition to qualifying at a later time, as is often the case at present when the consent of the Indian Agent must be obtained before the ceremony is permitted, but the normal order seems to be as just stated. Any way, in the spring, the medicine woman calls upon her relatives for buffalo tongues (in recent years, those of cattle). These are then saved as requested. In passing, it may be noted that in all ceremonies, the persons upon whom the burden of responsibility falls have not only an inherent right to call upon their blood relatives, but these in turn are under obligations to respond. The number of tongues required is uncertain, some informants claiming that there should be an even hundred, others, that four to five full parfleches was the standard. Naturally, in recent years, the number has been much less. These tongues are to be sliced, parboiled, and dried like meat. The slices, however, must be perfect, without holes, and come from the interior of the tongue.

The slicing of these tongues appears to have been the first ceremony of the cycle. It is conducted by a man, usually the father, who formally announced the woman's vow and who conducts all the ceremonies in which

---

[1] This series, vol. 2, 83.

[2] For example, we were told that some few years ago the widow of Spotted-eagle took the part of the medicine woman and borrowed a natoas from the mother of Curly-bear. Recently (1911), the latter died. Then the former claimed the natoas on the grounds that she had paid full value for it at the time and that she had now the most right to it. Curly-bear consented. Then, after an interval, this woman transferred it to the wife of —— who made no vow to give the sun dance, for it was generally known that the reputation of the new owner permanently disqualified her for the function of medicine woman.

During the course of the winter, should the Bloods be joined by several other bands, among which was a chief with more influence than the one presiding, the new arrival would assume leadership of the council. These arrangements were usually informal and without rancor for, not surprisingly, many of the chiefs as part of the tribal elite were related through marriage. If a chief was jealous of his position, he would simply avoid camping with anyone to whom he might be obliged to take a secondary role.

There were, of course, instances when two leading chiefs might clash. Among the Blackfeet, Crowfoot superseded the elder Old Sun as the leading chief of the tribe and at a council meeting the decision was made that the two men would travel together to hunt buffalo after the Sun Dance. However, Old Sun decided to leave before the end of the ceremonies and was leading his wife's travois from the camp when Crowfoot tried to detain him forcibly by shooting at the horse. Old Sun, however, defied Crowfoot and left (Dempsey, 1972:68–69).

Among the Bloods, the political chiefs in ranking order of importance immediately prior to the 1877 treaty with the Canadian government were Red Crow, Father Of Many Children, Medicine Calf, and Many Spotted Horses. Opinions of informants varied according to their own band affiliations, but all agreed on the top four leaders.

When camped, whether as a single band or the whole tribe, the political chief had control over the warrior societies. To them he designated the responsibility for guarding the camp, controlling the buffalo hunts, maintaining internal order, and protecting the group while on the trail.

Once instructed, the warrior societies had authoritarian control within prescribed limits, and even the band chiefs were not above their commands. For example, once when the Piegans were hunting, a herd was sighted and instructions were given that no one was to go hunting until the following day. This was to give everyone a chance to prepare his horses and gear. A short time later, a warrior society patrol came across the leader of the Lone Fighters band with a dead buffalo. He

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

584 583 585 secures the services of a friend, who goes to the father of his intended, states his desire and enumerates the gifts to be made to him in the event of his consent. If the father gives favorable ear to his suit, he simply sends the girl to the young warrior's lodge, who there receives her and the marriage ceremony is over. It is usual for the parents of the girl to send with her as presents to her husband such articles as their means allow, and these often exceed in value the gifts that have been received from him. Two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute [562] the customary offering in cases of intended marriage. The wishes of the girl are not consulted pending the matrimonial negotiations, but she rarely, if ever, objects.

582 607 [562] Such is the custom to which she has grown up and she is a passive instrument in her father's hands. It is to be remarked, however, that should she have a brother-in-law of mature years, it is even more important to conciliate him. To him revert all the proffered gifts and his opposition to the marriage would generally prevent its occurrence. Where there are several brothers-in-law it is the eldest only who enjoys this consideration.

Polygamy

595 Polygamy is extensively practiced among the Blackfeet and the number of wives a man may have is only limited by his ability to procure and support them. If the eldest daughter of a family is first married, it is tacitly understood that her younger sisters are bound to her husband likewise, and as fast as they arrive at the proper age they are sent to him without ceremony.

Fathers-in-Law and Mothers-in-Law

602 From the moment of marriage all direct intercourse between a husband and his wife's relatives or a wife and her husband's relatives was at an end. The husband addressed his wife's family only through her, and she observed the same rule with regard to his. Relatives by marriage sought to avoid meeting each other and would turn out of their paths for that purpose, but when an encounter was unavoidable they would hang down the head or muffle the

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

602 face until they had passed by. The same rule of etiquette applied to parents who were *mah-oh-tahn*, that is, who were related by the marriage of their children. Thus the parents of the husband were mah-oh-tahn to the parents of his wife, and the reverse. This is a happy word for which we have no equivalent in English and a chance is thus presented still further to enrich our language.

DIVORCE

586 Divorce was common and rested only upon mutual agreement. The wife, if dissatisfied, might return at will to her father's lodge, or the husband might for a similar reason send her back. The parents also or the brother-in-law might reclaim their daughter and the husband had [626] no redress. This was frequently done temporarily as a check to brutal treatment or an incentive to a lazy husband to better provide for his wife. This right ceased after the wife had borne children. In all the above cases of separation the husband was entitled to the return gifts [626] made before the marriage. The ease with which a wife might leave her husband greatly abridged his power over her and constrained good treatment.

CHILD-BIRTH

844 The Blackfeet women were very easy of parturition, a week sufficing in ordinary cases to restore them to perfect [846] health. Indeed, very frequently they would occupy themselves with their customary duties the following day and not a few instances are mentioned where they have been overtaken by the pains of child-birth on the march, and, after a couple of hours' delay, would resume their places [145] in the cavalcade. It is unquestionable, however, that such early resumption of toil (rendered necessary by their nomadic life) brings on age prematurely and has much to do with the haggard, miserable appearance of most Indian women who have passed the meridian of life.

CHILDHOOD

854 Soon after birth the infant was laid upon its back upon [824] a piece of bark of suitable length, or rolled firmly in un- [23] dressed skin, in which condition it passed the first year of its life.

36: Dempsey H-4,5 (1952) 1956 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

533 All singers face the centre of the circle and beat a single large drum with cloth-covered
535 sticks.

Although there are numerous Owl Dance songs, none has words. They consist only of a melodious chanting. It is not uncommon for the singers to preside at dances from eight o'clock in the evening until eight o'clock next morning without repeating a single song. Many of these tunes are born in the fertile imagination of modern singers, so that each year there is a popular "hit parade" of new songs.

As no names are given individual songs, each one is identified by singing the first few bars. Usually one of the singers will say, "Here, let's sing this one," and begin the song. His companions will wait until he has completed the first portion and then join
[562] in. On some occasions women will stand beside the bench and add their high-pitched nasal style of singing, but they are never allowed to sit with the men or remain at the bench during the Chicken Dance.

535 In addition to the normal clockwise movement of the dancers, there are many minor steps; and new routines are continually being added. The most popular variations are the "turnabout" and "turning on the spot" features. While the dance is in progress, the announcer may shout, "Turn around and dance in the opposite direction." At this cry there is general confusion for a moment as everyone turns round and dances in a counter-clockwise direction.

In the other variation the announcer may call, "Turn each other around." This consists of a slow turnabout movement, with the partners retaining their "schottische" hold. They then wait a moment to hear if he shouts, "Now do it again." This latter feature causes a great deal of amusement among the dancers, as there is often still some confusion after the first call.

Throughout the dance, the announcer is continually moving among the crowd, urging everyone to join in. The literal translation of a popular call is: "Don't waste all
[526] this good music. Get up and dance." A few decades ago, it was customary for the announcer to carry a small whip with him to strike the legs of persons who would not get up to dance. However, this has not been necessary within the past few years, as the floor is usually filled to capacity with willing dancers.

178 In the dance itself, there are a few restrictions which have been carried over into
535 modern social dancing from earlier customs, though many of them have suffered revision in the compromise with modern society.

[576] Among the Bloods, it is the woman who asks the man to dance, and it is con-
[562] sidered highly insulting for a man to refuse without good reason. In the old days, a woman could publicly denounce a man for this action and strike him across the back as an obvious sign of distaste.

When the dance has ended, the male dancer is not required to show his partner to her seat, but returns to his own place, leaving the woman to her own resources.

[573] Most interesting is the custom prohibiting a man and his wife from dancing to-
[602] gether. A few years ago this custom also forbade dancing with blood relatives such as brothers, sisters, parents, aunts, uncles, nieces, or nephews, but it is in force today only
[578] against married couples. Needless to say, this custom has given rise to numerous jealous arguments in which a wife complains about her husband's being chosen by one particular woman, or the husband protests his wife's choice of partners.

It is therefore probably a wise ruling that considers it in bad taste for dancing partners to carry on a conversation.

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

the hi-yi-yi's. I miss so *much* by not knowing music! Music doesn't miss much by not knowing me, though, because when I secretly recorded some of the Blackfoot songs Jim has taught me, the playback sounded like background music for a Hitchcock film and I hastily erased the tape. Indian music is not so simple as it sounds. 122 533 [126]

The Pipe Dance is a religious ceremony, customarily held each year after the first thunderstorm of spring. This year, luckily for me, the dance was postponed until the present date. I have not been able to establish definitely the reason for the postponement, but there are rumors that a polio scare discouraged all public gatherings earlier in the year. I do know that the movie house was closed for a while. 122 796

But by the time we returned to Starr School, to Jim White Grass' house, people were beginning to arrive for the Dance. Cars and trucks of all descriptions—from ancient jalopies to brand new station wagons—were pulling into the yard. One car had a decal on the rear window which read, "Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Browning, Montana," and a sign in luminescent tape on the bumper which declared, "JESUS SAVES." As a matter of fact, there are quite a few "saved" Indians on the Reservation, and I do not think it particularly paradoxical that the best Christians among them are the same ones who are most faithful to the ancient Indian beliefs. In Blackfoot there are many words for God. [794]

For a while Jim and I watched silently as the cars and trucks filled the yard and then began to spill over onto an adjoining lot, then finally Jim shook his head once, in a characteristic gesture, and said, "In old days you see at these dances there was nothing but wagons and horsebacks. Now-days you don't see." (To Jim, "the old days" refers to any time prior to the end of W.W. II, for it was not until the post-war period that the automobile replaced the horse as a prestige symbol here on the Reservation. To the Chief, on the other hand, "not long ago" means any time within his memory span, and "just recently" suggests any time between W.W. I and the present.) [554]

When I picked up my shirts at the local laundry, the Norwegian who runs the place confided, "I came out here from North Dakota to get away from too many relatives. Then I married an Indian girl and so now I've got twice as many relatives as before." I know what he means. I am a Blackfoot by adoption only, but I have yet to meet an Indian who is not in some way related to me. However, this profusion of in-laws is attributable only in part to the endogamous social structure of the community; a fair portion of my rela- 122 602

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

122 tives are relatives only because of the singular concept of family
● 602 relationship held by the Blackfoots. As a for instance, the first person I met at the Dance—a friendly chap named Joe Scabby Robe—immediately informed me that we were kith and kin. As I got the family portrait, Joe Scabby Robe is Earl Old Person's brother-in-law; and since Stanley White Man is also Earl's brother-in-law, and since Stanley is some kind of distant kin to some branch of the Chief's family (by one of his wives, I guess), and since I am now the Chief's son, that makes Joe Scabby Robe and I something-or-
[157] other. Which means that I am also related to the only orally deprived child on the Reservation, because Joe was leading by the hand the first thumb-sucking Indian kid I have ever seen.

122 But, relative or not, Joe Scabby Robe is a willing and capable
82 informant and I like him. The wind was rising all the time and the
[115] clouds were moving thick in the sky, and Joe pulled up the collar of his maroon nylon jacket and pointed far off to the northeast and said, "You see that big hill down there with the clouds on top? That means storm. We call that hill 'Sweetgrass Hill,' us Indians, and we say when Sweetgrass Hill has got a hat on, that means storm."

This led to a discussion of the unusual weather that the Reservation has been seeing lately, and Jimmy said, "Corn to [according to] some people says, it's that Adam bomb. I don't know what the real made it, but we sure having a funny weather."

122 As we talked, some friends of Jim drove in and parked nearby.
157 And as soon as the car had stopped, Jim called out, "Hey, when you
522 was driving that car your wheels was going round." Now this was probably the most un-funny remark ever made by an Indian (or anybody else), but everyone in the car laughed heartily. And this brings up an important point: the popular belief that Indians are cold, stoical, sober-sided and full of stiff and pompous dignity could not be further from the truth. Indians have marvelous senses of humor; they love to laugh, and even if your quip is not at all funny, your Indian audience will laugh in appreciation of the fact that you at least made the effort at affability.

522 Strangely enough, Indian humor is neither as sadistic nor as scatological as the humor of Western Whites. The Western White frequently finds humor in physical or mental deformity or in the various biological processes of both men and animals. This, I am convinced, derives from the days on the frontier when a deformity or physical malfunction was a very serious thing because it meant that you could not pull your own weight; there was no room for sympathy in